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THE COMMUNIST

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JANUARY ISSUE OF THE COMMUNIST

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on the

NATIONAL AND COLONIAL QUESTION

as presented to the congress by Comrade Lenin

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THE COMMUNIST

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MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

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NOTES OF THE MONTH

THE 13th Anniversary of the October Revolution is taking place in an international situation which gives it special historical importance.

The proletarian dictatorship was established on the ruins of the destroyed capitalist system of Czarist Russia and the bourgeois-democratic revolution and the defeat of foreign imperialist intervention. The defeat of the foreign military intervention did not mark the last direct military attack upon the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the repetition of the same on a larger scale is inevitable.

The basic fundamental reason for the inevitable imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union is the irreconcilable antagonisms between two different, diametrically opposed economic and political systems. However, the growing antagonisms between the bourgeoisie themselves is likewise a determining factor. It is precisely because of the present world crisis of capitalism and the ever-growing inner-imperialist antagonisms that the imperialists attack upon the Soviet Union becomes so acute. Comrade Stalin, in his report to the 16th Party Congress made this very clear:

> ". . . the bourgeoisie turns its eyes toward the Soviet Union every time when the capitalist antagonisms begin to become acute; would it not be possible to solve this or that capitalist antagonism, or all antagonisms at once, at the expense of the Soviet Union, at the expense of this land of the Soviets, this stronghold of revolution, which from the first moment of its existence has been revolutionizing the working class and the colonies, preventing fresh wars, disturbing the redistribution of the world, and refusing to permit capitalism to spread itself broadly over the extensive markets of the Soviet Union although it needs them so bitterly at this juncture of the economic crisis. *Hence the tendency towards adventurous attack on the Soviet Union and towards intervention. This tendency is bound to increase with the growing crisis.*" (Our emphasis—Editor.)

The recent sessions of the League of Nations, the agricultural conferences held in Bucharest, Warsaw and Athens, are living examples of imperialist antagonisms, bound up with war against the Soviet Union as the capitalist method of their solution.

The recent session of the League of Nations was an arena of struggle for the revision of the Versailles Treaty, as championed by Italy and Germany, the others fighting for the maintenance of the status quo, as defended by France. It is clear that the difference

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involved concern more than these three powers. The effects of this struggle go beyond the boundaries of the European continent.

One of the outstanding factors at the League sessions was the sharpening of the Anglo-French imperialist antagonisms. It was the great British socialist statesman, Mr. Henderson, who stabbed Briand's plan of a "United States of Europe." Of no little significance was also the declaration of the foremost British politician and former British representative to the League of Nations, Lord Cecil, that the League of Nations might consider Article 19, which provides for the reconsideration of the Versailles Treaty.

British imperialism is trying hard to regain its position as the "impartial judge" in settling the differences that arise between the European states. But above all, Great Britain is determined to break French domination on the European continent and demonstrate to France that its politics depend on the attitude of Great Britain.

The underlying basis of the inner-European imperialist antagonisms and the realignment of forces is to be looked for in the basic world antagonism between *the U. S. A. and Great Britain*, around which all other imperialist differences revolve and develop. The antagonisms between the United States and Great Britain are growing. British imperialism is receiving blow after blow from the U. S. in all corners of the world. The inevitable development toward armed conflict between these two imperialist powers is daily becoming more and more of a living reality. Because of its war preparations against the United States, Great Britain is anxious to secure its rear and its home front. It wants to win the support of France, by making the latter's inner-European policy depend on the cooperation extended to it by Great Britain. At the Imperial Conference it is assiduously trying to develop greater support among its Dominions and dependents.

The United States is likewise entering into the inner-European imperialist differences with the aim of establishing allies in struggle against Great Britain. This is definitely manifested in the part that Mr. Gibson plays in trying to reconcile Italian-French differences and in the aggressive role the U. S. is playing in the coming League of Nations Disarmament Conference.

From these antagonisms the organization of the anti-Soviet front looms with sharp clarity. Usually, the anti-Soviet attack by the League of Nations is carried out from behind, but at its recent session, it came out completely into the open. Under the slogan of "to protect the international market from Soviet dumping," the League of Nations attempted to organize a general economic blockade against the Soviet Union. The success of this was a little

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bit frustrated by the attitude of Germany and Italy, who at that moment, because of their own imperialist expectations, did not agree fully with the methods proposed. The League of Nations very glaringly brought out the fact of how the economic crisis and the sharpening imperialist antagonisms find their expression in the acceleration of the imperialist war attacks upon the Soviet Union. The Geneva correspondent to the *Berliner Tageblatt* described the situation in Geneva as follows:

> "In Geneva again there was talk of peace, but there was also talk of war—quietly, and with pacifying gestures, but yet in a tone which demonstrated that the development of a new European catastrophe is looked upon as an absolute possibility. There was also talk about other serious dangers facing the so-called present order. They spoke about it more clearly and less carefully than has been done usually and phrases were uttered which Karl Marx could consider as a full substantiation of his theory of the crisis of capitalism."

Concretely, the League of Nations session in Geneva with 28 capitalist nations present pledged to raise a $248,000,000 fund for any country that is being attacked and throw all its financial and military resources to combat the aggressor. We, of course, know that it will be French and British imperialism that will say who is the aggressor in the case of war.

One however, must not forget that intervention against the Soviet Union, as Comrade Stalin expressed it, "is a two-edged sword." The bourgeoisie cannot ignore the great sympathies of the international proletariat to the Soviet Union, the achievements of the Soviet Union, taking place in a period of world crisis of capitalism and its consequences for the toiling masses, and last but not least, the existence of the Communist Internatitnal. Imperialist intervention therefore must be prepared. Imperialist war preparations include not only direct military preparations, but also ideological and political war mobilization of the masses. To be assured of success, the bourgeoisie must secure its rear and have the masses' support and help in carrying out its imperialist war plans.

This ideological campaign to mobilize sentiment against the Soviet Union of which the Geneva conference was a part, is being carried out on a wide scale. The recent agrarian conferences were not to coordinate the export of agricultural products of the Balkan countries and those bordering the Soviet Union. At this juncture no harmony can be established between countries that export grain (Roumania, Jugo-Slavia, Hungary) and those importing grain (Czecho-Slovakia, Finland). The existing differences between the various Balkan countries like Roumania and Jugo-Slavia, Bulgaria

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and Jugo-Slavia, broke up the plans of French imperialism to establish a so-called "Locarno of Balkan Countries." At the Athens conference, Bulgaria immediately raised the question of the national minorities and the contradiction between these Balkan countries proved to be irreconcilable with the aim of coordinating their agriculture. What then, was the purpose of the agrarian conferences? We now must speak of the political consequences of the agrarian crisis, and the open revolt of the small and middle peasantry of southeastern Europe against the fascist regime dominating in the Balkan countries. At the present time, we witness many sharp struggles carried on by the exploited and ruined peasantry in Polland, Roumania, Bulgaria and other countries. Because of this, the finance minister of Bulgaria, Vladimir Moloff, speaking in behalf of eastern agrarian Europe stated,

> "Our rural communities are in despair, because they are unable to export. Their purchasing power has been reduced and the result has been a rural exodus and *political unrest.*"

It is precisely this political unrest and struggle of the peasantry, the reserve of the proletarian revolution, that is now developing in these Balkan countries, threatening the capitalist states with revolution, that raised the question of coordinating their agricultural exports.

The agrarian conferences however, have also another meaning. They were, as the official circles of the Roumanian fascist government explained, "the weapon of defense of European civilization against the Soviet Union." This is precisely the only achievement of these conferences.

In line with this we see that the bourgeoisie of the whole world is adopting the method of making the Soviet Union responsible for the world economic crisis of capitalism. The official organ of the Bulgarian Department of Foreign Affairs, the "World," states:

> "After the Soviet Union has convinced herself that her methods of Bolshevizing the world brought no results, she is now adopting a new method. She aims now to disorganize the international market and thereby develop the dissatisfaction of the producing masses. This will be a real catastrophe for our peasantry."

The same course is also taken by the Roumanian fascist oligarchy in its attempt to escape the responsibilities for the pauperization and misery of the peasants. A leading Roumanian paper writes on the eve of the Bucharest agrarian conference the following:

> "It (the conference) will have to explain to the world who is responsible for all the unhappiness and misery which lately befell

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> war-exhausted Europe. It is necessary to expose the devil's play of Moscow and paralyze it with all measures. The Bolsheviks destroyed our grain, oil and pulp industries. It is necessary to declare a boycott on the Soviet export, and then Europe will recover."

Here is clearly shown how capitalist antagonisms, although not solved, were united in common struggle against the Soviet Union.

We must also expose the propaganda that the Soviet exports undermine the international market and are responsible for the crisis of capitalism. What are the facts? The Soviet exports do not even reach 50% of the pre-war exports of Czarist Russia. The sale of Soviet exports in world trade amounts only to 1½%. Even such countries as China and colonial India exceed the Soviet Union in its exports. It is clear that it is not the Soviet exports that world capitalism is afraid of. It is the success of the Five Year Plan, the growth of Socialism, that is the underlying factor in the present economic war declared upon the Soviet Union as a forerunner of the inevitable direct military intervention. No one made it more clear than the American Secretary of the Interior, Mr. Wilbur, who stated:

> "One of the great peoples of the earth is deliberately trying to work out large social and economic programs for the mastery of its vast terrain along new and untried lines. Our economic, social and political philosophies inevitably must wage a gigantic and fundamental struggle with theirs."

The sharper the crisis, the more accentuated become the imperialist defensives and the more threatening becomes the imperialist attack upon the Soviet Union.

* * * * *

The four speeches of President Hoover made during the month of October are more than mere election campaign speeches, they are a clear call for counter-revolutionary mobilization. Fundamentally, it makes no difference for American capitalism whether or not the Republican Congress is replaced by a Democratic majority. Morrow, the Republican candidate for the U. S. Senate in the state of New Jersey has already stated that there is no basic difference between the two political parties as far as their loyalty and devotion to the interests of the country is concerned. Even former President Coolidge also acknowledged that as far as loyalty to the Constitution is concerned, this is possessed by all candidates of the Republican and Democratic parties. While the speeches of Hoover had to bolster up the vanishing prestige of the Republican Party, yet they were of a

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more fundamental character. The basic feature was the defense of the present economic and political system of society—they were a declaration of war against the rapidly developing revolutionary movement and the growing radicalization of the masses. Again the spokesman of American imperialism wanted the masses to still believe in the worn-out illusions of equality of opportunity, freedom, liberty, and all the other demagogic phrasemongering of the bourgeois barrage of hypocrisy.

The second characteristic of Hoover's speeches is the complete unanimity between the administration and the reactionary bureaucracy of the A. F. of L.—a recognition of their merger with the state apparatus. The ruling class appreciated the role of the A. F. of L. in placing the burden of the crisis upon the shoulders of the working masses, in preventing strikes against wage cuts and actively combatting any plan for state unemployment insurance. Mr. Hoover said to the A. F. of L. annual convention on their cooperation with the government, the following:

> "We are justified in feeling that something like a new and improved tool has been added to the working kit in the solution of our future problems."

The praise and good relations were complementary. The 50th A. F. of L. annual convention did not waste a minute in acknowledging the great work of the Hoover administration, in face of a wide wage cutting campaign and the laying off of millions of workers in spite of Hoover's promises. Mr. Green said:

> "As we emerge from this distressing period of unemployment, we are permitted to understand and appreciate the value of the service which the President rendered the wage earners of the country and industry when he convened the White House conference to which I have just referred."

The third feature of Hoover's speeches was the attempt to exonerate American capitalism from responsibility for the present economic crisis and mass unemployment. Again Hoover (and Coolidge) placed the responsibility for the crisis outside the United States. Again a picture was painted, that the world economic crisis, the existence of the Soviet Union, of the revolutionary struggle in the colonies, are responsible for the misery of the American masses, and on the basis of the theory that America is a self-sustaining nation, that the crisis will be ovecome and a new period of prosperity ushered in once more upon the American people.

* * * * *

But what are the facts? Even Hoover's Trade Board Survey paints a picture that shows that the crisis is deepening from

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month to month—that there is nothing in sight that will show improved economic conditions. It shows that non-residential building for the period ending October 17, 1930, was behind last year's volume for the same period by $429,191,400 and that residential building fell behind for the same period by $714,748,900.

Car loadings for the four weeks ending Octobr 11 were 19% below those for the corresponding weeks of 1929. The number of vessels in foreign trade entering the U. S. ports in September was 11.5% less than in August. The electrical industry production figures for September were 3.2% below September, 1929. The bituminous industry production was nearly 20% below September, 1929. September pig iron production was 7% less than the daily average for August, and 35% below September, 1929. Pig iron production for the first nine months of 1930 was 23,565,852 tons, 19% under the 1929 period. September steel ingot production per day was 7% below August. Steel ingot production for the first nine months of 1930 is 25% below the same period of 1929.

It is of great interest to note the sharp decline in rail buying, which today totals 225,000 tons, which is 36% below the 1929 period. It is worth while to remember that at the beginning of the stock market crash, Hoover promised to solve the economic crisis through the large building programs of the American railroads. The production of automobiles during the month of September was 230,888, or 1% under August 1930, and 46% under September 1929. The October production of automobiles in America and Canada will not exceed the 200,000 mark. Production of automobiles during the first nine months of 1930, totaled 3,666,510 units, or 77% below the corresponding months of 1929.

We have just passed the first anniversary of the stock market crash of last year. During this year, the crisis not only reached the level of 1920-21, but has gone below that level. The Annalist Index of Business Activity for September shows 78.3 (preliminary) compared with 81.6 for the worst month in 1921. It is still going down. The Annalist Index of Employment and Payrolls for the month of September shows a marked decline. Stocks on the New York Stock Exchange during the month of September have shown a further decline from the worst months of 1929. The N. T. Times Index of 50 representative stocks, fell 48c below the bottom figure of November 13, 1929.

* * * *

American imperialism is now considering the crisis as a serious test of the character of American capitalist economy, it is forced to admit that the U. S. A. is not crisis proof. It was Mr. Morrow who

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stated, " I think maybe we are going through a great test— a test of our character. It will determine whether we can get along only in a period of prosperity."

What is being proposed to remedy the crisis and unemployment? At last Hoover, the Federal, state and city governments have discovered that the conditions of the unemployed are very serious. The capitalist press is full of all sorts of proposals to remedy the lot of the unemployed. But what is the meaning of these proposals? What is their content and why is capitalism becoming so uneasy at the present situation?

The unemployed are being offered nothing but fake promises and charity. This is aimed to replace the struggle for unemployment insurance to be paid by the state and the employers. Secondly, the capitalist class is afraid of the struggle of the unemployed, which if developed along revolutionary channels, will be threatening to capitalism. Therefore, to replace the struggle of the unemployed for insurance, they are now advancing charity; and to prevent the unemployed from revolutionary methods of struggle, the capitalist parties in this present election period have been making promises, and building up their unemployment committees. Now that the election is over, these committees will be on hand to cooperate with the employers, who with the deepening of the crisis will continue to load a heavier and heavier burden upon the working class. These committees will try to pacify and hold down the resentment of the workers as increased wage-cuts and lay-offs fall with terrible certainty upon them during the coming months.

Again the Federal, state and city governments speak of public works as the solution of the unemployment question. However, the consideration of a few facts will expose the hypocrisy of these proposals. For the first six months of 1930, public works amounted only to $52,383,000 new constructions. In the same period last year, it amounted only to $51,038,000. We therefore see that the difference was very small in spite of the fact that the unemployed increased by millions. Because of this, the Engineers News Record had to say:

> "Events of the past six months show that only a little industrial slack can be taken up that way, since powerful appeals after the business depression did not increase the volume of public construction over what has been previously projected.

Today, the number of working men employed on public works is only 1,1000,000, which includes Army, Navy and civil service employees, which shows that 8,000,000 unemployed cannot be absorbed on public works. It is interesting to cite the fact that on a

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$4,000,000 public work project in Buffalo, New York, only 375 men were employed.

Simultaneously with this barrage of demagogy, false promises, we see in a systematic and persistent manner, attempts being carried out to place the burden of the crisis upon the shoulders of the workers. We also see the capitalist class making the workers responsible for the present condition. Mr. Edgerton, of the National Association of Manufacturers, at its thirty-fifth annual meeting in New York stated, "If when everybody has the opportunity to work and earn more days and practice the habits of thrift, is our economic or government or industry to blame?"

On the basis of this premise, we read the proposals of splitting up the jobs of those still employed, and taxing those still employed i nindustry and in civil service, to pay part of their weekly wages in support of the unemployed. The recent sessions of the American Banks Association and the recent statements of the head of the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank, clearly point out the orientation of American capitalism to lower the standards of living of the American working class. Governor Black, of the Atlanta Federal Reserve Bank, stated very frankly, "I do not agree with those men who say that in America, there must be no retrogression from the present high grade of living."
of the committee he stated, "We cannot provide jobs for the unemployed committee appointed by President Hoover with Arthur Woods as chairman, will not relieve the unemployed. As the head of the committee he stated, "We cannot provide jobs to the unemployed." Their orientation is to place the fate of the unemployed in the hands of various charitable institutions—in other words, to degrade the unemployed to beggars, all of which aims to replace the struggle for a system of state unemployment insurance. The orientation of this committee of having the workers pay for unemployment, is made very clear in a statement appearing in the *New York Times*, which reads:

> "Corporation subscriptions will be sought and those who have jobs will be asked to contribute a certain part of their weekly or monthly salaries."

It is stated here very clearly that the workers will be made to pay for unemployment, for which capitalism is responsible.

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Next Tasks of the Communist Party of the USA

By EARL BROWDER

PREPARING the Communist Party for the tasks of the coming winter, the Central Committee is gathering for a plenary session as this is being written. What must be the central point of concentration of this Plenum, in order that the Communist Party may proceed most effectively to the mobilization and organization of the working class of the United States for the struggle against the effects of the crisis, for the protection of its conditions of life?

FROM PROPAGANDA TO ACTION

The next task of the Party is to find the way *how* to pass from the stage of agitation and propaganda to the stage of active struggle. We must overcome the chief weakness of the Party, which was described by the Communist International when it said:

> "The principal weakness of the Party is to be found in the fact that *the Party was and remains a good propagandist organization which has not understood how to mobilize the masses for struggle for their immediate demands and especially for their economic demands.*"

Without in any way becoming less effective in agitation and propaganda, the Party, therefore, must concentrate upon learning how to make this agitation and propaganda serve the needs of the immediate struggles of the workers. We must be not only the Party of ultimate aims, but also the Party of immediate needs and struggles. We must pass from propaganda to action. That is the chief next task of the Party.

LESSONS OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

We have just passed through a major election campaign. What have our experiences taught us in this campaign? Were we able to make use of it as a great mobilization for class struggle, such as, for example, the recent campaign of the German Communist Party?

There were good points to our election campaign. For instance, we more than doubled the Communist vote of 1928; we brought a larger proportion of the Party membership into activity than ever

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before; in some places we began to enroll active non-Party workers into our campaign work; our agitational work was of a high order.

But why, with such an active campaign, did we secure a smaller number of votes than there were participants in the August First demonstrations? Or, why was the vote only ten per cent of the number of participants in the March Sixth demonstrations?

The answer must be found in the character of our campaign, which reflects the whole nature of Party work. Our campaign was too general and abstract. We had splendid general slogans, which the workers approved and cheered; but these good general slogans were not transformed into concrete slogans of the every-day life of the different localities. We did not show the workers how, by joining the Communist campaign as well as by voting Communist, they were helping to solve their *immediate problems* of bread and butter. Therefore, hundreds of thousands of them cheered for Communism and voted for the demagogues of the capitalist parties.

This explains the weakness of our election campaign, and also of our trade union work, and of all our mass work generally. We have not yet proved to the masses that the Communist Party is not only the Party of Revolution, but also the Party of today's struggles.

LINKING IMMEDIATE DEMANDS WITH ULTIMATE AIMS

Let us face frankly this fact; our Party and its membership have not yet learned how to link up intimately our general and ultimate slogans with the immediate, partial economic needs and demands of the workers in such a way that the workers generally can understand.

Let us examine, for example, the way in which our unemployment demands were brought to the masses. We put forth the Workers' Unemployment Insurance Bill. Very good. The workers liked it. But they also realized that it will take a more or less protracted struggle to achieve it, and perhaps even a revolution. In fact, most of our less-skilled campaign speakers emphasized above all else, that to get such unemployment insurance we must overthrow capitalism and establish a Workers' Government. The slogan "Vote for the Insurance Bill" became about the same as the slogan "Workers' Government." We didn't promise "pie in the sky," but it became dangerously similar, something like "relief for the unemployed after the revolution."

But precisely our task was to bring the workers, employed and unemployed, into struggle now for immediate demands, as the only possible means of leading them on further to higher stages of the

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class struggle, and eventually to the struggle for power. That old method of linking immediate demands (such as unemployment insurance) with the ultimate aims (Soviet Power), which makes the one seem as far from realization as the other, and to be gained by the same means, must be done away with. We must link them up in the Bolshevik way, showing how the revolutionary struggle led by the Communists is at the same time the most practical producer of immediate relief.

A FALSE ISSUE—PRACTICAL VS. REVOLUTIONARY

Our weakness in this respect become the stock in trade of the reformists and social-fascists. They raise the slogan of "reformist practicality against revolutionary utopianism." To smash this slogan of the reformists, to rob it of its influence over the masses, nothing will serve except demonstration in life, that the reformist methods are not practical, that the revolutionary struggle is also serving the daily bread-and-butter needs of the masses in a practical way.

Already we are providing the proof of this thesis in action—but still on an insufficient scale, and above all, without sufficient consciousness and system. March Sixth was certainly a practical action, and every relief action of the capitalists can be traced directly back to the panic with which they witnessed March Sixth. We, the workers mobilized by the Communist Party, forced the issue of unemployment upon the entire country. That was a practical result, which every worker could see at the time, and resulted in enormous influence for us among the workers. We failed, however, to sufficiently follow up the same line in the next period.

After that first mobilization we should have concentrated upon concrete local demands and actions in support of them. Some steps were made. In New York the demonstration at City Hall while the Committee of Unemployed interviewed the Board of Estimate to demand, a part of the 620 million dollar budget, for the unemployed, was a classical example of the correct line of struggle. It was also a classical example of the practical results of revolutionary action, when the next day after the clubbing of the unemployed delegation, the Board of Estimate revised the budget to give a million dollars to the unemployed. True, this was a mere trifle in amount, but even this mere trifle could not have been gained by the "gentlemanly" procedures of a Reverend Norman Thomas and the socialists generally, but only by the "rude" Bolshevik struggle.

We must in all our words and actions expose the falseness of the reformist slogan of "practical versus revolutionary." We must by word and deed prove to the masses that the only practical road for

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day-to-day gains is the road of revolutionary class struggle, under the leadership of the Communist Party.

THE PROBLEM OF REVOLUTIONARY TRADE UNIONS

What has been said of the unemployment question applies with full force to the problem of building the revolutionary trade unions, and the revolutionary opposition within the reformist unions. It applies to all phases of the struggle for the economic demands of the workers , the struggle against wage cuts, against speed-up, for the shorter work-day, etc.

It is absolutely true that only the revolutionary class struggle can gain for workers some realization of their immediate demands. Why is it, then, that at a moment when the immediate needs of the workers are most pressing, that our revolutionary trade unions grow very slowly indeed, and some of them even retrogress? Something must be wrong. Is there something wrong with our general line, laid down by the Red International of Labor Unions in its world congresses, or is the fault in our methods of work, in our daily practice?

The answer must be that the line is absolutely correct and that any attempt to change that line can only result in sliding into the swamp of opportunism on one side, or into the desert of sectarianism on the other side. We must find the remedy of our weaknesses in the field of practice, of application—in the field where the general line is concretely applied to life. *We must have a general and specific examination and overhauling of our methods of work.* We must bring our practice into harmony with our theory. We must tie-up most closely the Bolshevik policy with the daily life of the masses. Our theory must really become the guide of our action.

CLEARING OUT REMNANTS OF THE PAST

We have a rich experience to examine, to find our weaknesses. The Illinois miners' strike, the Flint strike, the South, the Philadelphia waterfront, etc., all provide lessons to show us what is wrong with our work, and why our unions do not grow as they should. The reasons, shown by experience, can be summarized as carrying over from the past, the methods of opportunist leadership. These opportunist practices are often supported and masked by sectarian ideas and ultra-left phrases, but when openly right-wing or ultra-left, their opportunist essence remains the same; they cut us off from the masses; they disintegrate our organizations.

What was wrong, for example, on the Philadelphia waterfront? Our comrades, wishing to lead the struggle for immediate demands, found themselves cut off from the army which must make

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the struggle, with the result that not only did the strike fail to materialize, but the promising beginnings of organization were temporarily disrupted. The leaders tried to substitute themselves for the masses; they disregarded the principles of revolutionary strike strategy, laid down in the Strassburg resolution of 1929, and tried to develop the strike from above, by methods which disregarded the preparation of and participation by the masses themselves. The intentions of the comrades were, no doubt, of the best; but the finest intentions will not take the place of correct methods and tactics. Their revolutionary impatience for immediate struggle became a pretext for trying to jump over the necessary stage of mass preparation, mobilization, organization and linking up intimately with the masses. The "leftist" form of these mistakes only served to mask the remnants of old methods carried over from the past, an inheritance of opportunism. We must clear up all these remnants of the past, brushing them out of the minds and practical activities of our comrades.

The same problems in differing forms are presented in the Illinois strike, the Flint strike, the South, etc. They are present in all our trade unions and revolutionary oppositions. Right-wing passivity and sectarian impatience with the masses often join hands to block our development along the path of Bolshevik struggle, the path of persistent, patient work with the masses, the path of organized preparations for struggle, the path of practical, detailed attention to the smallest questions, the path of the sure building of a solid structure of working-class power from the bottom up.

GATHERING THE ALLIES OF THE PROLETARIAT

Our Central Committee Plenum must also mark a new step forward in gathering the allies of the working-class around the Communist Party. These allies are, in the first place, the poor farmers and especially the Negro masses. Our basic program on the agrarian and Negro questions, laid down by our Party Convention in June, must now be further clarified, extended, and applied.

On the agrarian program our Convention did not take a final decision because of differences existing between our analysis of the question as it presents itself in America, and the analysis of some leading comrades of the Peasants' International (Krestintern). This has now been given international examination, and the basic line presented to our Convention by the Central Committee has been confirmed. The next step must be the real beginning of serious practical work among the impoverished farmers, and especially among the agricultural workers, taking the struggle against local exploiters and oppressors as the starting points in the struggle against

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the capitalist system of exploitation. A farmers' paper must become the leading organ in building and guiding a broad network of farmers' action committees and leagues of struggle.

FOR EQUALITY AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR NEGROES

With the latest resolution of the ECCI on the Negro question, we are taking a bold step forward in concretizing a Bolshevist program. The struggle for the rights of the Negroes, for complete equality everywhere, and for the right of self-determination in the Black Belt where the Negroes constitute a majority of the population, is the path along which the Communist Party will unite with the workers a powerful ally in the struggle against American imperialism.

The struggle for Negro rights is equally the concern of the white workers as of the Negroes themselves. White workers can never win emancipation without at the same time freeing all oppressed peoples; while the Negro masses can never escape their special oppression without the active help of the white working-class. It is the duty of the white workers especially to take the lead in the struggle against lynchings, jim crowism, and all forms of denial of equality, and to prove to the Negro masses by their deeds that Negro oppression comes from the white ruling class and not from the white workers; that the white workers are not fighting for their own narrow interests, but for the emancipation of all the oppressed, thus building up a firm fraternal solidarity of white and black, which alone can effectively fight and overcome the forces of imperialism.

The slogan of self-determination raises the whole question of national rights of the Negro majority in the Black Belt. It includes the completion of the agrarian revolution in the South by securing for the toiling Negro masses the possession of the land which they till, breaking the power of the local white ruling minority, and establishing the state unity of the Black Belt, which can then decide for itself what relations it shall establish with the United States and other lands. The white working class must be brought to active support of this basic democratic right of self-determination, a right for which the World War was supposed to have been fought according to the hypocritical pronouncements of Woodrow Wilson, but which has been consistently violated and denied in the most brutal, cynical, hideous forms in the South by American imperialism.

The Communist Party comes out boldly as the only Party which fights relentlessly for equality and self-determination for the Negroes. The Negro masses must and will rally to the Communist Party.

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FORWARD TO NEW STRUGGLES—NEW VICTORIES

We enter a winter of deep crisis for world capitalism, and for capitalism in the United States. The forces of revolution are rising throughout the world. Buttressed and inspired by the magnificent march of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, under the dictatorship of the proletariat, the oppressed classes and peoples all over the world are gathering their forces and are beginning to struggle for the overthrow of imperialism. In China already is rising the foundations of the Soviet Power. Throughout the colonial world the imperialist regime is shaking under the blows of the rising masses. In Germany and several other countries of Western and Central Europe a severe political crisis is rapidly bringing to maturity the conditions for a revolutionary struggle for power by the workers. In the United States capitalism plunges deeper and deeper into the worst economic crisis of its history, which already presses forty millions of the population into misery, cold, and starvation, and prepares the stage for an unprecedented political crisis.

In this world situation the working class of the United States, and above all its vanguard, the Communist Party, has duties of supreme importance, not only for itself, but also for the world revolution. These duties can only be performed adequately by energetically readjusting all methods of work, by organizing the masses, mobilizing them for struggle for immediate demands, widening the ranks of the Party and building its cadres, building mass revolutionary unions, fighting for the unemployed and uniting them with the employed workers, drawing into the fighting front the poor farmers and Negro masses, and by rousing the masses to the struggle against imperialist war and for defense of the Soviet Union, and for support to the rising colonial peoples, all of which is the only path of preparation for our own "November 7th" which shall end the rule of capitalism.

Forward to new struggles and new victories!

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13 Years of the Soviet Union and the Economic Crisis in the USA

By HARRY GANNES

1. SOVIET GROWTH VS. CAPITALIST CRISIS

TWO overwhelming facts confront the entire capitalist world on the 13th Anniversary of the Soviet Union.

1) The tremendous advance of Socialist construction in the U. S. S.R., under the Five-Year Plan is bringing consternation to the capitalists everywhere.

2) The rapid progress of Socialist construction takes place in the midst of the severest post war economic crisis involving all capitalist lands, and in many countries there is developing a political crisis, bringing in its train increased revolutionary struggles against imperialism.

The workers have definitely before them the achievements of Soviet rule as contrasted to the betrayals of the Socialists when in power. In Great Britain, there is the spectacle of the Labor Party, with its Socialist premiere, aiding imperialism pile the burdens of the crisis on the backs of the workers, as well as to crush out in a sea of blood the revolt of the masses in India. In Germany, it was with the direct aid of the Social-Democratic Party that the Young Plan yoke as riveted on the necks of the German masses. Wherever Socialism is in power, or props up the capitalist state, Fascism strengthens its hold. The crisis deepens. The conditions of the working-class worsen. Against this the workers have the facts of the achievements of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union.

In the United States, the most highly developed of imperialist nations, the challenge of advancing socialist construction is recognized by the entire capitalist class. President Hoover on two occasions in October referred to the threat to capitalism of the victorious march of socialist upbuilding. Speaking before the American Legion Convention in Boston, October 6, Hoover spoke of the "challenge to democratic institutions," at a time "when the world had to contend with a greater mood of violence." "Even today," he added, "nearly one-half of the population of our globe is in a state of great unrest or a state of revolution."

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The next day, at Kings Mountain, South Carolina, the imperialist president enlarged on this topic, coming to the defense of capitalism against "bolshevism." "Old faiths are being shaken," he stated. Hoover knows that the demonstration of the advance of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, set in the ugly frame-work of decaying, anarchical, sorely beset capitalism is shaking the imbued faith of the masses in capitalism. Hoover, knowing that the very life of capitalism is at stake in the present economic crisis, which is eating at its vitals, is obliged to assure the American workers that the diseases which beset American imperialism are infantile and not senile.

"The world about us is tormented with the spiritual and economic struggles," he told his hearers, "that attend changing ideals and systems." What "ideals" are changing and what systems?

He concludes with the self-satisfaction of a capitalist who cannot imagine that the sturdy ground on which he stands is being rocked by a mighty volcano and assures his fellow-capitalists as well as the sorely attacked workers that "Our problems are the problems of growth." How like Lovestone's harping on "the very growth in American imperialist strength," etc.!

The entire question was brought out more clearly and more directly by a close collaborator of Hoover. Forgetting all about the recent charge that he turned over Colorado oil lands valued at $40,000,000 to the Standard Oil Co., Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, secretary of the interior, tackled the question of advancing socialism in the Soviet Union as a challenge to American imperialism, on October 8th, making a definite link with Hoover's speech about "changing ideals and systems." The *New York Times* (Oct 9th) reports Wilbur as follows:

"A 'gigantic and fundamental struggle' between the philsosphies represented by the United States and another great nation, which he left unnamed but indicated Russia, was foreseen by Ray Lyman Wilbur, secretary of the interior, in a speech today before the American Country Life Conference.

" 'One of the great peoples of the earth is deliberately trying to work out large social and economic programs for the mastery of its vast terrain along new and untried lines,' he said.

" 'Our economic, social and political philosophies inevitably must wage a gigantic and fundamental struggle with theirs.' "

II. ADVANCE SINCE 1922

Up to 1921, the major task in the Soviet Union was battling against the forces of counter-revolution and buttressing the dictator-

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ship of the proletariat against every attempt of inner and external enemies to dislodge the November, proletarian revolution. The economic conditions of the workers' republic at that time, sapped by war and counter-revolution, were in extreme plight. "Very few countries in such a plight are likely to find means to break the vicious circle without resort to foreign aid," wrote Maurice Dobb in his book *Russian Economic Development Since the Revolution.* "Since Russia was surrounded by a hostile capitalist world, aid from outside . . . was not likely to be forthcoming. . . ." "Nevertheless, by the end of 1922," Dobb exclaims, "the most serious phase of Russia's economic collapse had been passed, and the basis for recovery had been laid. For the first time since 1916 economic conditions had shown an unmistakable advance."

It required six years, after 1921, for socialist industry to overcome the ruin of economy in the Soviet Union and to regain the pre-war level of production. The adoption of the basic premisis of the Five-Year Plan at the Fifteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U. early in 1928, and the putting into practice of the Plan, under the control of the State Planning Commission in October, 1928, transformed the entire tempo of socialist construction.

At the Sixteenth Congress of the C.P.S.U., held during the summer of 1930, Comrade Kuybychev, reporting on The Carrying Out of the Five-Year Plan of Industry, was able to state that the two and one-half years that elapsed between the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Congresses had sufficed to enable socialist industry to double the pre-war production and that the single year 1930-31 promised an acceleration of the tempo of industry so that the pre-war standard would be tripled.

The inauguration and carrying out of the 5 Year Plan in the Soviet Union exposes the contradictions inherent in capitalism. For world capitalism this becomes a life and death matter. For American imperialism, the most highly developed capitalist economy, the clash between the capitalist mode of production involved in deep fundamental crisis and the planned economy of the U.S.S.R. is especially glaring.

The comparison of the advancement of socialist construction to the very heighth of the tempo of American capitalist development in so-called "years of prosperity" raises the question of the superiority of socialist planned economy over capitalist anarchy. The existence of the crisis in the United States heightens the fundamental antagonism between these two poles of production.

First we will examine the outstanding accomplishments of the 5 Year Plan as reported by Comrades Stalin, Kuybychev and Yakovlev at the 16th Congress of the C.P.S.U.

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All these reports contain a mass of statistics on every branch of soviet industry. Some of the lighter minded of the capitalist scoffers attempted first to ridicule what to them seemed impossible results of the drive towards socialist economy. The scoffing gave way to belittling the achievements and ended in a storm of fear, hysteria, vituperation and intensification of the war preparations against the U.S.S.R.

III. OUTSTANDING RESULTS OF 5-YEAR PLAN

The following are tables of the outstanding achievements of the 5 Year Plan to date:

Pre-war 100%

Gross Agricultural Production—Including forestry and fishing

1926-27	106.6
1927-28	107.2
1928-29	109.1
1929-30	114*

All Industry—large and small

1926-27	102.5
1927-28	122
1928-29	142.5
1929-30	180*

Goods Traffic (freight)

1926-27	127
1927-28	134.2
1928-29	162.4
1929-30	193*

Trade Turnover

1926-27	100
1927-28	124.6
1928-29	160.4
1929-30	202*

Foreign Trade

1926-27	47.9
1927-28	56.8
1928-29	67.9
1929-30	80*

National Income—Data Issued by State Planning Commission

1926-27	23,127,000,000	rubles
1927-28	25,397,000,000	"
1928-29	28,596,000,000	"
1929-30	34,000,000,000	" *

Relation of Agriculture to Industry

	Industry	*Agriculture*
Pre-war	42.1%	57.9%
1927-28	45.2%	54.8%
1928-29	48.7%	51.3%
1929-30	53%*	47%*

*Estimated on all available data.

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Growth of Heavy Industry
(Production of the means of Production)

	Share of Production of Heavy Industry	*Articles of Consumption*
1927-28	27.2%	72.8%
1928-29	28.7%	71.3%
1929-30	32.7%*	67.3%*

Capital Investment

1926-27	1,270,000,000	rubles
1927-28	1,614,000,000	"
1928-29	2,046,000,000	"
1929-30	4,275,000,000	" *

Production of Electrical Industry 1924-29

Soviet Union	600%	Increase
United States	181%	"
Canada	218%	"
Germany	241%	"
Italy	222%	"

IV. AGRICULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION

The problem of collectivization of the small peasant farms and the building of the large scale Soviet state farms is of foremost importance in connection with the Five-Year Plan and is at present receiving the greatest attention from the American capitalists, particularly from that section of finance-capital which squeezes the life's blood from the poor and tenant farmer in the United States. The success of collectivization is no more a matter of conjecture, in relation to the objectives of the Five-Year Plan. Legge, Hyde and Hoover recognize the implications for capitalism of the particular success of Soviet agriculture. The Five-Year plan provided for a gross grain production of the collectives of 190.5 million cwt. By 1930, the collective farms had produced 256 million cwt. of grain. In two years, the Five Year Program in the agrarian sector had been exceeded by more than 30%.

"Between the 15th and 16th Party Congresses we created on the Soviet and collective farms millions of collective farmers who withstood the vacillations in the spring and remained in the collectives, and formed a new stepping off ground for the further offensive for the organization of socialist agriculture from North to South, from East to West. . ." said Comrade Yakovlev, concluding his report on The Collective Farming Movement and the Prgoress of Agriculture at the XVI Congress of the CPSU.

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V. THE FARM CRISIS IN THE U. S.

What is the situation of the American farmers? They have been suffering from a severe crisis, with little let-up, since the end of the world war. Between 1919 to 1927, four million persons quit farming, and 19,000,000 acres went out of cultivation. Over 76,000 individual farms ceased to exist.

In 1925, the bankers held $12,500,000,000 in farm mortgages; recently the general farm debt is reported to have jumped to $20,-000,000,000. The yearly interest which the finance-capitalists squeeze out of the farmer amounts to about $1,000,000,000.

The agrarian situation in the United States vividly shows the decay of capitalist society, and Chairman Legge attempted to cover up the complete failure of the Federal Farm Board (which was formed to insure the profits of the imperialist bankers) and the capitalist program to "alleviate" the situation, by a scurrilous attack against the growing collectives in the Soviet Union.

Some comparisons have been made between the Soviet State farms and collectives with the large "corporation" farms in the United States. The only basis of comparison is that of a diseased swelling, to a normal, healthy muscle. The existence of a scattered group of large farming corporations is by no means evidence of "growth." Comrade Harrison George in his speech at the Seventh Convention of the Communist Party, U. S. A., completely riddled the idea of the successful growth of large scale farming in the United States. He quotes the U. S. Chamber of Commerce which "is doubtful whether corporation operated farms will encroach seriously upon the small units," which, with the fangs of finance-capital sunk in their vitals, remains the fundamental basis of capitalist agriculture in the United States. The American farmers and their families are constantly sinking deeper into debt and misery.

VI. "THE MENACE OF RUSSIAN STEEL"

While Legge and the Federal Farm Board attack the results of the Soviet collectives in agriculture the representative of finance-capital interested in heavy industry begins to see the rise of Soviet heavy industry as a "menace" to the gigantic and highly advanced steel industry of the United States.

The *Journal of Commerce*, organ of Wall Street, on March 28, 1930, devoted an editorial to Menace of Russian Steel, pointing out that in 1913 the Russian pig iron output ranked fifth among the leading nations and steel output fourth; the *Journal of Commerce* calls to the attention of the American steel barons the fact that

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"output has expanded until near the close of 1929 Russian blast furnace output was equal to and larger than in 1913, while steel output as nearly the same as before the war." Then in the following comparative statistics they show the huge increase of pig iron output from 1928 to 1929 under the 5 Year Plan:

	Pig Iron	*Steel*
	(*Gross tons*)	
1913	345,000	396,700
1927	248,100	304,000
1928	276,700	350,000
1929 (for 11 months) ..	350,800	392,700

"This is an impressive record," exclaims the New York *Journal of Commerce*. In the space of two years under socialist planned economy Soviet steel industry looms up before the masters of the most highly developed steel industries in the world as a serious menace. The big steel bosses in the U. S. recognize that it is precisely because of the 5 Year Plan and of the implications behind it of planned socialist economy in the interest of the great mass of workers and peasants that makes Soviet economy a nemesis to the capitalist mode of production. The *Journal of Commerce* concludes its editorial by admitting the implications of the development of the steel industry in the Soviet Union makes it a possible threat to the world steel industry! They say:

> "Recently the 'five year program' of the Soviets has attracted wide attention. It is understood to mean broad expansion in many industries with possible competition with foreign nations. If this is so, then the possible menace to the world's steel industry of Russian activities may by no means be taken lightly."

Is it true that the capitalists in all lands are fundamentally disturbed by what they term Soviet "dumping?" Are they fearful of immediate competition on the world market of Soviet commodities?

It is not at all the immediate perspective of Soviet industry flooding the world markets with goods that worries the imperialists. As Pravda points out the Soviet Union exports less than 1½% of the world aggregate foreign trade. Soviet exports are decidedly under the pre-war average. Both imports and exports are just 80 per cent of the pre-war figure—*and the greater bulk is imports of machinery for heavy industry*. The Soviet Union exports are mainly to pay for the cost of importing machinery.

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What irks the imperialists is not "Soviet exports," or Soviet "dumping," but the remarkable fact that the Soviet Union is not only advancing with the Five-Year Plan of socialist upbuilding, but is actually making tremendous basic industrial progress *without the aid of foreign loans.*

In a rapid and and breathtaking manner, socialist construction is proving its superiority over capitalist production in an extremely short space of time. The cry about Soviet exports is a fake issue. The fundamental principle of the Soviet union is to advance the living standards of the great mass of people; export is resorted to mainly to pay for necessary imports of machinery. The bosses are not immediately worried about the tremendous growth of the Soviet steel industry to a position to compete with the European or American steel trusts. They are aghast at the very idea that the Soviet Union can build its steel industry to the heights that it has without the aid of foreign imperialsm, and at a faster rate than they are able to.

VII. SMASHING THE "NEW ERA" MYTH

Planned, socialist economy is outstripping in tempo the most advanced capitalist countries. "We are advancing at an accelerated speed, and are out-distancing, technically and economically, the advanced capitalist countries," said Stalin at the Sixteenth Congress of the CPSU.

We shall come to an examination of the tempo and rate of development in the United States in the most halcyon days, from the point of view of the exploiters, and find that even many of the leading boss economists find it wanting. The most eulogistic estimation of the recent developments of American capitalist economy, before the mighty stock market crash, which dramatically inaugurated the present sharpening crisis, concluded with a note of "all's not well." The Report of Hoover's Committee on *Recent Economic Changes* admitted the harrowing contradictions in agriculture. "Agricultural depression had forced the individual farmer to meet his narrow margins above cost by raising more units to sell, and selling more units has tended to make these margins narrower still."

In the Spring of 1929, when the jazz economists were singing their peans to the glory of American imperialism, Hoover's Committee found the apparently rosy economic apple a little wormy. "Even on the face of affairs, all is not well,"[1] they said. "The conditions of agriculture, the volume of unemployment, the textile

[1] *Recent Economic Changes in the U. S.* Vol. II, p. 909.

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trades, coal mining, the leather industries, present grave problems not only to the people immediately concerned, but also to their fellow citizens. How rapidly these conditions will mend, we do not know. Some may grow worse."[1]

This is in line with the Lovestone spottiness. He followed the lead of the boss economists, and on this hinges his recent claims to having been the Columbus of the crisis.

While pointing out that in the 80's of the last century the capitalist system in the United States surpassed the greatest industrial powers of Europe in its tempo of development, and had in fact "developed the maximum rate in the growth of productive power possible within the limits of this system," V. Motilev in his article, Origin of the Economic Supremacy of the United States,[2] comes to the conclusion that this development showed a marked slackening of pace during the past thirty years. He contends that the gradual weakening of the rate of development in the U. S. began with the 90's, and showed that the monopolist stage of capitalism creates a tendency to stagnation.

"Only the system of economy in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics, the transition from capitalism to socialism, enables the broadest utilization of American progressive principles of organization and industry . . . the rate of development of the U.S.S.R. will exceed by far not only the European, but also the American," concludes Motilev.

A summary of the so-called boom period or the "new era," upon which the Lovestoneites harped so much is given by a leading bourgeois statistician, Carl Snyder, chief statistician of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. Snyder's disparaging review of the past four years of "prosperity" received very little mention in the capitalist press. Speaking before the American Statistical Association meeting in Washington, D. C., Dec. 27, 1929, Snyder said:

In the last four years (1926-27-28-29) the increase in the total of the nation's product, and trade, has not, despite persistent illusion to the contrary, increased more than about the computed normal or average of the last fifteen or twenty years. *In* 1927 *and* 1928, *the rate of increase was distinctly below the normal or average. Few myths had less foundations than the widespread belief in a 'new era.'*" (Italics mine—H. G.)

2Communist, July, 1930, p. 590.

At the same meeting, another capitalist spokesman, Robert B. Warren, declared that a more or less chronic state of industrial un-

[2]*Communist, July,* 1930, p. 590.

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employment would exist in the United States in the next ten-year period.

Outside of the single year 1929, which ended in a crash whose reverberations are echoing world-wide, the tempo of capitalist growth in the United States was stagnant, and for 1928, the year now taken by most capitalist economists as most typical of the recent "changes" of American capitalist, was below the rate of development for the past 15 or 20 years.

VIII. THE CURVE OF WAGES—U.S.S.R. AND U.S.A.

Although the share of the workers and working peasants in the Soviet Union of the national income is already far beyond that received in all capitalist countries, under the Five-Year Plan, it has increased tremendously. In the United States despite the increased productivity of labor, there is a rapidly falling share of the workers. This does not take into account at all the question of social insurance, which in the Soviet Union has reached a higher stage of development than anywhere in the world. It does not take into account the lowering of the hours of labor in the U.S.S.R., while in the United States there is now a decided tendency to an increase in the hours of labor.

The following table gives the share of the workers and working peasants in the national income, as reported by Comrade Stalin:

1927-28	75.2%
1928-29	76.5%
1929-30	77.1%

Real ages in the U. S. S. R., taking into account social insurance and other improvements in the standard of living of the workers has increased 67%, as compared with the pre-war level.

What is the situation in this respect in the United States? Comrade S. Sakurai quoting figures obtained from the *Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1929, page 788, finds that the percentage of the share of the American working class in the value created is gradually, but steadily declining year after year since the end of the orld war. Here are the figures:

Census Year	*Wages*	*Value Added by Manufacture*
1914	$ 4,067,096,000	$9,855,868,000
1921	8,200,359,000	18,326,832,000
1923	11,007,851,000	25,845,659,000
1925	10,727,358,000	26,771,375,000
1927	10,848,803,000	27,585,210,000

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Which gives the workers the following percentage of the value produced:

1914	41.27
1921	44.47
1923	42.05
1925	40.00
1927	39.32

This is further borne out by Prof. Paul H. Douglas in his book, *Real Wages in the United States*, p. 590, when he says: "The proportion which wages and salaries formed of the total value product of manufacturing increased from 1899 to 1921, but has been decreasing ever since then." From 1923 to 1927, Douglas states, real wages remained static, though productivity increased during this time.

While the rationalization of capitalist industry is fraught with frightful results for the workers in capitalist lands, in the Soviet Union it rebounds to the interest of the workers in a thousand ways. The main immediate effect on the workers in the United States of the tremendous speed-up and technical advancement is the wholesale elimination of large numbers of workers from industry. In 1920 there were 11,200,000 factory workers in the United States. In 1927, this number had dropped to 10,600,000. Since 1927, the number has dropped much faster. According to Paul H. Douglas a drop of about one million occurred between 1919 and before the crisis of 1929. In the Soviet Union, socialist construction and rationalization proceed with a growing *lack* of all types of workers.

The effect on the health and life of the workers of capitalist rationalization in the United States has become so marked that it is receiving the attention of the capitalists, especially the insurance companies, whose profits are involved by the growing death-rate of middle-aged workers, directly traceable to the frightful speed-up. The Metropolitan Life Insurance figures for life expectancy between 1921-27, are as follows:

27 years of age	—1.23
37 years of age	—1.39
47 years of age	—1.33
57 years of age	—1.15

Elmer E. Rittenhouse of the Equitable Life Assurance Society says that during the past thirty years "the chances of early death after the passing of the age of 40 have steadily increased."

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IX. IN THE PERIOD OF CRISIS

Thus far, we have dealt with American capitalist economy in its most roseate days, when whole pangyrics were written praising it; when every Socialist lackey was urging the capitalists in his country to emulate American imperialism, as a solution for the ills which beset capitalism; when an entire new literature sprung up in the United States proclaiming the dawning of a new capitalist era sans crisis and sans class struggle.

But the foremost advances of the Five-Year Plan took place in the midst of a world economic crisis of capitalism, which found its severest expression in the United States. The figures given of the accomplishments of the Five-Year Plan, which despite admitted difficulties and obstacles, drive ever higher, must be contrasted with the following data brought out by the present crisis of American capitalism.

1. By October, 1930, industrial production had dropped 24.8% below the 1929 level. The Annalist Index of Business Activity for September (*Annalist, Oct.* 17, 1930) showed that the present crisis has already reached far lower levels than at any period during the severe 1920-21 crisis. The index at the end of September stood at 78.3, which is 3.3 points below the 81.6, the low mark of March, 1921. All indications point to even lower levels. The winter will see sharp drops in auto, building, steel and freight car loadings, carrying the crisis into levels much deeper than at any time in 1921.

2. Pig iron production in the U. S. fell 17.8 per cent during the first seven months of 1930. Steel ingot production hovers around 50 per cent of capacity with the backlog of unfilled orders cut 200,000 tons for the U. S. Steel Corporation. September steel production dropped 9½ per cent below August.

3. Motor car production is down 49.7 per cent.

4. Building construction, despite the herculean estimates of Hoover's Business Council, which put its greatest efforts to "stimulating" the building industry on the basis of Hoover's fanciful $8,000,000,000 building program, dropped 22 per cent below 1929. In 1929 it was already 13 per cent below 1928. The complete fiasco of Hoover's building program, which was to end the crisis in a "twinkling of an eye," is a good commentary on the capitalist attempt at "planning."

5. Freight car loadings are lower than at any time since the crisis of 1920-21.

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6. Commodity prices show a continuous drop, with such raw materials as sugar, rubber and copper going to the lowest prices ever reached.

7. Factory payrolls are at the lowest point since 1922.

8. There are 8,000,000 workers unemployed, with the number steadily increasing .

X. CAPITALISM'S "ETERNAL TRUTHS"

In discussing the question of the solution of the crisis in the United States, the *Financial & Commercial Chronicle, Oct.* 11, 1930 (Vol. 131, pp. 2278-79), found it necessary to consider the question of the great example to the workers of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, while capitalist economy was floundering in its contradictions. The Chronicle editorial, entitled, Ultimate vs. Immediate Recovery, becomes quite humorous in accepting the eternity and fixity of capitalism as one of the basic reasons for a solution of the present crisis. They say:

"The heave and swell of industrial effort carry us on without our knowledge. . . . We are just as sure to come back into our own as the sun is to rise. The eternal truths will prevail." (Capitalism for Wall Street is "eternal truth!" and just as reliable as the sun.) "But when and how? . . . We must not ignore certain facts. (Here's the rub!) One of these, that people overseas, (they hate to mention the Soviet Union and still more the Five-Year Plan), harder-pressed than we are, are driven to heroic business efforts, and are therefore competitors to be counted on." These "competitors to be counted on" do not happen to be in the orbit of the capitalist sun, nor are they part of the eternal truth, yet their persistence and success make them pesky fellows.

The American bourgeoisie are occupying themselves more and more with the inescapable demonstration of the superiority of socialist construction over capitalist economy. There is less serious talk now about the failure of the Five-Year Plan or that "Communism won't work." New tactics are springing up. As the agrarian and industrial crisis worsens in the United States, as well as in other capitalist countries, unable to hide the glaring contradictions of the capitalist system, the bourgeoisie and their economists are attempting to blame the very growth of socialist economy in the U.S.S.R. for the existence of the world economic crisis. Though it is true, that the forging ahead of the Soviet Union, the success of agrarian collectivization, the rapid establishment of heavy industry does further intensify the crisis of decaying capitalism, the fun-

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damental cause of the crisis is the inherent contradictions of capitalism, aggrevated by the post war decline.

Legge, Hoover, Hyde, Woll and Green find it convenient to tell the workers and farmers that the advancement of the standard of living of the workers and peasants in the Soviet Union is being achieved at the cost of the standard of living of the American workers. This is their screen to cover the inability of the capitalists to overcome their crisis so readily as they thought they were able to, and provides the mass ideological basis for the rapid war preparations against the Soviet Union.

That Hyde's spectacular broadside against Russian wheat missed its aim does not mean a lessening of the war danger. Neither does the lifting of the partial ban against Soviet pulpwood and manganese importation mean a diminution in the active war preparations against the U.S.S.R. They merely show that the sharpness of the economic crisis in the U. S., and the demonstration of the successful advance of socialist economy, goaded the imperialist leaders in this country to what they later considered too hasty exposure of their real plans. Their retreat is one step backward preparatory to the bigger two steps forward.

XI. SOME REMARKS ON GAMBLING

Talk about the Soviet Union inevitably reaching capitalist economy by whatever devious route it took is fast disappearing. The bourgeois economists begin to admit that the Soviet Union is constructing a system diametrically opposed to capitalist anarchy. "...it may be said that the determination of the (Communist) Party to create a social and economic order which will be purely socialistic and will constitute an entirely different civilization from that of capitalism can no longe be doubted." So writes Calvin B. Hoover (an actual person and not a composite of presidents) in the *Economic Journal*, June 1930.

Though Trotsky may gamble on the failure of the Five-Year Plan, the imperialists are warned not to. "Shall we gamble on its (Five-Year Plan) making such a failure? Not if we have any foresight," writes John Carter in the October issue of *Scribners* in an article entitled Russia's Challenge to American Business.

"Today Russia is challenging us in a new field, in the field of economic coordination," he says. "Since 1928 Russia has been engaged in a great experiment known as the Five-Year Plan... World-wide industrial depression and unemployment lends edge to the situation... The Five-Year Plan is working...The problem of Russian competition, with all the political complications insepar-

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able from a governmental control of business, will be a major consideration . . . we shall have to face the possibility that we guessed wrong about Russia."

Dozens of diatribes along the same vein in all capitalist papers and magazines could be quoted. What solution do they offer? They invariably suggest a world organization of the imperialist nations against the Soviet Union. They urge the imperialists to bury their mutual antagonism for a drive against their common enemy, the victoriously advancing proletarian revolution in the Soviet Union. Some of them are like George L. Anderson in the *Herald-Tribune* (Oct. 5, 1930), who though recommending a world economic boycott against the U.S.S.R., realizes that this will fail, but falls back on the hope that "ultimate adjustment will come in an economic revolt of the Russian people." Though Mr. Anderson does not say so, he is not adverse to Wall Street financing whatever counter-revolutionary elements are willing to attempt this job of stirring up armed insurrection against the proletarian dictatorship.

XII. "HOW CAPITALISM CAN SAVE ITSELF"

Not only do the fascist officials of the A. F. of L. almost rupture themselves in aiding the bosses to pile the burdens of the crisis to the backs of the American workers, but they do trojan service in preparing the basis for war against the Soviet Union.

The actions of Matthew Woll are the froth which shows the deeper agitation which many workers do not see but which is more relentless in driving toward war. Green and Hoover work hand in glove. Every order of finance capital transmitted to Green is carried out to the best of his ability.

The A. F. of L. *Federationist* is now becoming a theoretical organ advising capitalism how to save itself from proletarian revolution. The fascist leaders of the A. F. of L. chide the bosses for being too slow in their open fascist development. The article entitled, How Capitalism can Save Itself and the World from Revolution, by Cornelle Berrien Adams in the October *Federationalist* is directly related to the question: Fascism or Communism? Miss Adams concludes, contrary to Bukharin, that capitalism is unorganized, chaotic and, what is worse, is becoming more so. She tells them this will not do at all. She advises the leopard to change his spots. She tells the exploiters to:

> "Effect complete organization of industry, and then operate it in the interest of the whole community and the problem is solved! Capitalism itself can do this, if it will. . . . The alternative is Communism. The political successes of Communism, or what passes

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> under that name, in Russia, has settled definitely the kind of state that will succeed capitalism in case of a successful revolution in any other country."

It is no accident that at this time in the official organ of the A. F. of L. there appears an appeal to the bosses to take decisive fascist steps to save capitalism, which Miss Adams and the A. F. of L. officials think is synonymous with "civilization."

Miss Adams concludes her article by telling the leading exploiters to organize "a board of control, consisting of business experts with *ample power*. . . Orders from this board must be obeyed implicitly and instantly."

In other words, instead of the more difficult and roundabout process of the fascist leaders under present conditions aiding the bosses to cut wages, the A. F. of L. now tells these bosses to form a fascist council whose orders for wage cuts, lengthening of hours, speed up and rationalization "must be obeyed implicitly and instantly."

This is what the American Federation of Labor offers as an alternative to what is now taking place in the Soviet Union.

XIII. FROM ABRAMOVITCH TO VANDERVELDE

From Abramovitch's ravings about the collapse of Soviet economy, the Socialist Party in the United States has turned to the more subtle line now handed out by Emile Vandervelde, the Belgian social-fascist. Harry W. Laidler toured the world, viewing it with a social-fascist eye, and reported his results in the *New Leader*. For the McDonald government, with its murders of Indian workers and peasants, he had the profoundest sympathy and "critical" understanding. What a different note Dr. Laidler strikes when he undertakes to tell his Socialist readers about the functioning of the Five-Year Plan in the Soviet Union. He particularly stresses the fact that there are 750,000 unemployed registered in the Soviet Union. This is one of his proofs that the "hot-headed Communists" have not reached the milennium. It is beneath Laidler's objective, of course, to contrast the dwindling[1] 750,000 with the increasing 8,000,000 in the United States who are totally deprived of any form of social insurance. But comparisons odious to capitalism are not within the scope of social-fascists. It will not do to state the facts detrimental to capitalism, and particularly to Laidler's most cherished brand—the best in the world—that of the good old U.S.A.

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[1]Unemployment has now been solved in the Soviet Union and there is a scarcity of workers.

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Our learned Socialists, of course, cannot overlook some of the good features of this "experiment." Even Hamilton Fish, Jr., finds this pose a good one in advancing the war preparations. These words which sum up Laidler's conclusion could very well be put into the mouth of Mr. Fish, or Mr. Woll, and Hoover could adopt them without revision: "Many of its experimentations (Five-Year Plan) will have little to offer to a Western country. The political structure of the Soviet Government and the tactics adopted by the Russian Communists are largely inapplicable to America. . ."

This is not Laidler's own brilliant idea, but is the policy of all the social-fascists in the light of the inescapable facts of the rapid advance of socialism in the Soviet Union. In the September 13th issue of the *New Leader* we find a German social-fascist, Reinhold Neibuhr, fresh from a tour in the Soviet Union, repeating the same phrases: "If it works in Russia"—no more talk about it won't work, the more convenient "if" is substituted—"where there was no industry that does not prove that it will work in America or Europe, where there is a highly developed industry."

In the parlance of the war days, this is giving aid and comfort to the enemy. The bourgeoisie is sore-pressed in explaining to the workers why the standards of living of the "backward" Russian workers should advance, while those of the workers in the "advanced" countries are rapidly dropping. Laidler helps them out by telling them what goes on in the Soviet Union is a peculiar "Asiatic" system which can not work in the United States. Here the workers must pin their hope in capitalism, and its servants the social-fascists. Strange enough, the same argument about "good for Russia but no good for Europe and America" is taken up, also, by the I.W.W.

In their election campaign propaganda, however, the Socialists have developed a studied silence about the Soviet Union. For their purposes, they just cut out one-sixth of the globe. This silence is not an oversight but is deliberate. The question of the Soviet Union and its relations to the United States is one of the most important issues confronting the workers in America today. There is the Fish Committee. Hoover recognizes Communism as a "challenge." The attacks against the Soviet Union are growing every day. The silence of the Socialists in the present election campaign is very valuable to the bosses in their war preparations against the Soviet Union.

An example of the deliberate cutting out of any mention of the Soviet Union, to befuddle the workers, is shown in the campaign pamphlet issued by the Socialist party of New York, for the 1930 elections. On page 26, they speak of unemployment insurance in other countries, and praise the system in Germany, Great Britain

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and Ireland, but significantly overlook the complete form of social insurance covering *all* workers in the Soviet Union.

Not any longer able to hide the achievements of the Five-Year Plan, the social-fascists are tacitly supporting the war preparations against the Soviet Union, while attempting to convince the workers in the capitalist lands that for them capitalism is more desirable than communism.

XIV. THE BOSSES' ANSWER—WAR!

As the Five-Year Plan enters its third year, the attacks of the imperialists against the Soviet Union increase. The past two years have amply demonstrated to them that socialist construction is driving ahead. Their answer is war. Every means are being used by the American bourgeoisie to advance the ideological as well as the military preparations for this war. Every method is used from the Whalen forgeries, the ban on Soviet imports, to the antics of the Fish committee.

The exploiters in the United States know that the world economic crisis of capitalism will worsen. Along with this will come a tremendous drive against the standard of living of the American workers. Even the perspective of an alleviation of the crisis—which in no manner will signify a fundamental upturn of capitalist economy, as admitted by the leading boss economists themselves who say, "we must not repeat 1929"—will be pivoted on increased exploitation of the workers and a decided lowering of their standard of living. An "alleviation" of the crisis will proceed with increased permanent unemployment.

No more do the American capitalists content themselves with the smug contention that "Communism won't work." The question before them now, and which they discuss and act on, is: "What will be our tactics against the planned economy of the Soviet Union which is threatening the very existence of the most advanced capitalist nation in the world?"

This is the meaning of Wilbur's words about a gigantic conflict between "two philosophies." It is the meaning of Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Lohman's "challenge of an economic war."

The socialists with their assurance to the American bourgeoisie that the "Russian system" won't work in this most perfect of economic structures here in the United States, attempt to shift from the real issue "Communism or Capitalism," and give active aid to the war preparations against the U.S.S.R.

Mathew Woll, and the officialdom of the American Federation of Labor, are urging the bosses to "save capitalism and civilization" from Bolshevism, already giving the imperialsts the slogan for the war against the Soviet Union.

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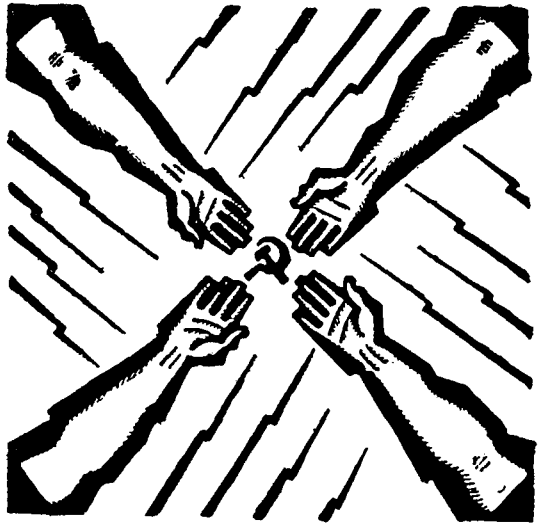
The American workers must be appraised of what the Five-Year Plan means for them. It should be made a topic of discussion in every shop. On the basis of what is going on in the Soviet Union, as contrasted to the increasing misery of the American workers, they must be aroused for the defense of the Soviet Union, and against the imperialist war preparations.



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The Year of Agricultural Collectivization in the Soviet Union

By MEILACH EPSTEIN

ON the 13th Anniversary of the Proletarian Revolution the world is faced with a powerful, dynamic contrast between Soviet growth and capitalist crisis. The situation in agricultural production presents this in sharpest form. In the Soviet Union we see the tremendous development of agriculture and well-being of the peasants and the organization of great collective farms. In the United States, for example, the leading capitalist country, there is the most severe crisis in agriculture on top of the chronic agricul- the bankruptcy and terrible suffering of the poor farmers as well as stagnation in growth of large scale farming.

The scoffing of capitalist at the Five-Year Plan in industry has now given way before the realities of Soviet advance to frantic screaming at the new "industrial giant" being built up before their eyes by the Soviet workers. The success can be denied no longer. At the same time, the forces of capitalism have still been putting great hope in the illusion that agriculture could not be socialized but was to remain a stronghold for private enterprise and a foothold through which socialism could be attacked and overthrown.

Collectivization of agriculture thus holds a key position, the success of socialism depends upon it, the hope of capitalism is pinned upon its failure. The struggle of the C.P.S.U. on this front and the change of policy from the restriction to the policy of the liquidation of the kulaks, has helped make this year one of the sharpest in the class struggle since the early period of the revolution. All of the counter-revolutionary forces, capitalist elements, the kulaks, the bourgeois economists, the Mensheviks, the Trotskyites, the Nepmen, the white-guard and world capitalism have concentrated a violent attack against Soviet up-building. In this attack the right-wingers within the C.P.S.U. have given aid and comfort to the enemy by trying to hold back the tempo of collectivization, while the "lefts" also attempted to lead to an uncalled for exposure of our weaknesses to the enemy.

This year gives an answer to the right, the lefts and to the whole capitalist front, the same answer as given by industry and in as decisive a form.

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THE VICTORY OF COLLECTIVIZATION

The enemies of collectivization suffered their first defeat after the first Bolshevik sowing campaign in the spring. The gloomy prophets of the opportunist camp were busy trying to scare the Party and workers with panickly cries of the impossibility of collectivization without "an adequate technical base." The clear Leninist line of the Central Executive Committee was labeled adventurism. Together with the enemies of the proletarian state they repeated the stories of wholesale coercion of the peasants on the part of the Party, putting much stress upon the psychology and habits of a private holder which are said to be inherent in the peasants.

The results of the sowing campaign, the first decisive battle for the Socialist transformation of peasant economy is known — 5,700,000 hectares more have been cultivated. Besides, the share of technical plants has increased to a great extent—more cotton, more sugar beets, more clover, soy beans (an entirely new plant in the Soviet Union), sun flowers, tobacco, kenaf, vegetables growing around big industrial cities, and more sub-tropical plants in southern Crimea, all this with less than 80,000 tractors, and only about 1,500 combines. These numbers include the tractors of the government farms.

The victory achieved in industrialization and collectivization was chiefly responsible for the absence of an organized opposition or caucus at the XVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Congress, after a thorogoing discussion of the Party's struggle for Socialist reconstruction of agriculture, unanimously declared *"that the former right opportunist group was objectively the agency of the kulaks in the Party."* The slogan: Complete liquidation of the kulak on the basis of solid collectivization was put forward by the Congress with emphasized vigor as a result of the great success of the sowing campaign.

The harvesting was the second victory won by the Party. There were less machines and less tractors working at the harvest on account of the lack of spare parts to replace the ones broken during the sowing. The tractor stations also were unable to carry through a complete overhauling of the machines. Nevertheless, through elaborate planning and organization, which is the essence of the collective farms, with the enthusiastic response of the broad masses of the members of the collectives, with the aid of tens of thousands of industrial workers who declared themselves mobilized to work on the Socialist field, it was possible in a short time—between 9 and 14 days—to gather a bumper crop, which exceeded in extent any previous area cultivated on the former private holdings of the members of the collectives. This is especially applicable to the

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Ukraine and Northern Caucasus, which are the main sources of wheat supply.

The figures on the number of collective farms is a complete repudiation of the theories of the right wingers. In fact those agricultural regions which are the grain producing units of the Soviet Union have developed a much higher percentage of collectivization than the consuming regions. This is very significant. For instance, in the Moscow region, which is purely a grain consuming one, the percentage of collectivization is much below the general average for the whole Soviet Union, which amounts to 25%. But in the Ukraine, at the time of the harvest, 60% of poor and middle peasant economies were organized in collective farms. In many districts of the Ukraine, the percentage was still higher. In Northern Caucasus, among the Don and Kuban peasants together with the Ukrainian settlers, collectivization reached at the time of the harvest 67%, and the writer was assured that when the harvest is over in the latter part of autumn, collectivization will reach as high as 80% of all the peasant holdings. Authorities in this region are confident that in the coming spring, the slogan for solid collectivization will be carried through completely. These facts show that great masses of peasants in the producing regions have sensed the importance of collectivization as *"the only means which can lead them out of misery, poverty and backwardness."* (Stalin.)

UNITY OF AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY

Needless to say, the character of the grain campaigns has changed fundamentally for the first time. The collective farms deliver grain to the government on the "contract" system, from 30% to 35% of the entire crop. The collectives know beforehand how much grain they will have to deliver to feed the industrial population, and the Socialist industry has its program for the amount of agricultural machinery and other goods which it has to deliver to the village.

The members of the collective farms look upon themselves as organized partners with the industrial workers who furnish them with products which bring a new standard of living. On the other hand, the larger sowed area and the greater crops have confirmed Comrade Stalin's statement at the XVI Party Congress: "Our bread problem has been already solved in the main." Not only are the Socialist industries assured of plenty of bread, but for the first time since 1926 is the Soviet Government able to export quantities of first grade wheat in order to help finance its huge industrialization program. Instead of collapse and decay of agriculture predicted by the social "damagers," the Kondratieffs and Grohmans,

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and with them in a similar melody the right opportunists, we witness a great swing forward in Socialist reconstruction and development of agriculture, despite the wild resistance of the kulak and his henchmen.

The Party was able to overcome in the first year many of the gigantic difficulties which were in the way of collectivization. Of course there are many difficulties still ahead, but the results of the first harvest and the present move of the peasants to join the collectives, are evidences that the Party's Five-Year Program on the agricultural front will be realized long before the end of the five years.

PREDOMINANCE OF SOCIALIZED SECTOR

The first year of the collectivization program has already changed the economic and social relationship of the village. Economically, the kulak was put out from his former economic stronghold as a supplier of grain. The following short table will show the great change in the source of the grain supply to the city:

From the 1929 harvest before the wave of collectivization, the government received from:

Government farms	3.5%
Collectives	8.5%
Poor and middle peasants	65%
Kulak	23%

From the 1930 harvest, the government receives:

Government farms	8%
Collective farms	44%
Individual poor and middle peasants	45%
Kulak	3%

In other words, the Socialist sector of agriculture, is able after its first harvest, to supply 52% of the entire grain program. If we add that the collective and government farms have added 36% to the cultivated area, that the sowing of grain has increased 9%, that the general harvest was better by 12% than last year, that the harvest of collective farms has yielded 13% more than the individual farms, and that the harvest of the government farms has yielded 40% more per hectare than the individual farms, then we get a vivid picture of the great transformation which is going on in Soviet agriculture.

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COLLECTIVIZATION AND SOCIAL ADVANCE

Thus under socialized agriculture and industry, the city and country are being brought closer and closer, being bound together with their fundamental common interests. Agriculture is being put upon a technical basis, which will finally release the peasants from their enormous age-old expenditure of physical toil. Farming done by the grain trust and tractor stations show, as Yakovlev says, "The main part of the work required for the growing of wheat is no longer performed in the field itself, but in the iron works and oil industry." Whereas the individual peasant farm of former days required 230 working hours to grow summer wheat on one hectare, on the state farms this requires only 9 hours, the tractor being used for 2½ hours.

Only one who is acquainted with the old Russian village can conceive the great social change which is caused by and through the collectives. The "mezha" (a narrow strip of land which divided one peasant's land from another) was for centuries the symbol of the holiness of private property. The "Mezha" was the cause of long-enduring bloody feuds, burnings and killings. Behind each peasant's hut was the little dilapidated barn where his horse and cow were housed, and where he stored his meager supply of grain. Now the "mezha" has disappeared, and the barn has become useless to him. Few tractors or plows drawn by horses, plow wide stretches of massive fields. No individual peasant follows his own horse. The work in the field is collectively organized. The members of collectives work in brigades headed by a captain. The collective barn has risen to house all the working horses, another barn for the second cow (the first cow is allowed the peasant), for raising live stock, etc.

The standard of living of the peasant is undergoing great changes and advancement. For example, in the Rayon (section) of Karnofsky, north Caucasus, the average income of a middle peasant used to be about 250 rubles per year. The first harvest after collectivization the average income amounted to not less than 590 rubles. In the Demyan Bedny collective in the Volga, the income amounted to 1,200 rubles per member. New orchards, vineyards, creameries, brick kilns, mills, schools, dining rooms, clubs, theatres, etc., which are being built, bring many advantages to the rural districts.

THE ROLE OF WOMEN

When the movement for collectivization started, the peasant woman was the chief agency through which the kulak and the priest worked to break down the organization of collective farms. The

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vilest rumors were spread among the peasant women, stories about women being nationalized in the collectives, about all members of the collectives being forced to eat from one spoon and sleep under one quilt, etc. There were thousands of cases when the husband declared he would join the collective, only to be later forced by his wife to withdraw.

Now, the peasant woman is already beginning to feel what benefits the collectives are bringing her. Already in the first sowing campaign, many big collectives were organizing communal kitchens. The fact that hundreds of men were working on massive stretches of land, forced the collective to inaugurate an organized feeding system in order to enable the members to stay in the field during the short busy season. For the first time in peasant history the individual woman has done away with domestic cooking, for the first time in her life she stopped caring for the individual cow, horse, pig, etc. Instead of that, household work assumed the same collective manner as the work in the field—and this is only the beginning. The collectives already feel the necessity of erecting permanent communal kitchens, communal nurseries, gardens, thus enabling them to reach a higher plane of economic and social life. The possibilities are unlimited.

NEW WAVE INTO COLLECTIVES

Once this tremendous force of tens of millions of peasants has started moving, there is nothing which will stop them—the more machines they get, the more soil they will cultivate; the more goods they will receive from the Socialist industry, the more will the driving force be created among them for higher production and a higher level of life.

The writer has been shown in the Agricultural Commissariat in Kharkov, the capital of the Ukraine, plans for a new type of Socialist village, plans which can be and will be carried through in the coming years. The plans present a village which is a revolution in itself, but it is not a phantasy at all. Of course, only the proletarian state can accomplish such a revolutionary transformation of an ancient economy such as agriculture.

There are yet many obstacles in the way. The swing of many new peasant masses towards the collectives now has found many local Party organizations and collectives unprepared. The "Pravda" in an editorial of October 3 warns that the new movement of the peasants in the collectives is proceeding without sufficient guidance on the part of the Party workers and the collectives. The "Pravda" demands that this present movement should be given more leadership and organized aid.

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It is necessary to mention the leading role which has been played by the industrial workers in the organization of the collectives. The Party mobilized the so-called "25,000," 25,000 of the best fighting workers, and sent them off to the villages, to help carry through the collectivization program. Besides the 25,000 which remain for a period of at least two years, and thereby become organically associated with the work and growth of the collectives, many more workers were sent to the village in the beginning of the year. It is estimated that over 200,000 city workers participated in this tremendous work.

At the time of the harvest, many thousands of workers again came to help the collectives, denying themselves their much needed vacation. In this way, the leadership of the proletariat, was proven in actual struggle and achievement. The union of worker and peasant was strengthened with the voluntary labor of hundreds of thousands of industrial workers. Lenin's guiding principle was fulfilled in a mighty manner. This cooperation and leadership will continue.

One must not forget to mention that an integral part of the Party's agricultural program is the building up of big government farms on land that has not as yet been cultivated. These farms have proven to be tremendously successful. Some of them take up as much as 200,000 hectares. There is a great future ahead of them. It is enough to say that two years ago, they cultivated an area of less than a million hectares. This year over four million, and in the program for the coming year not less than nine million hectares are to be cultivated, but we cannot go into detail in regard to these very important huge grain factories in the present article.

THE SOVIET SYSTEM VS. CAPITALISM

The first year is a guarantee of the success of collectivization and has proven beyond doubt the great advantage which the peasant masses possess in a proletarian state over those in capitalistic states.

In the "rich" United States of America under capitalist control, agriculture is decaying and the situation is getting worse and worse. Only the few rich farmers can take advantage of tractors, new machinery and methods. The tractor is beyond the means of four-fifths of the farmers. And many who have tractors cannot utilize them properly on account of the fact that their farms are not large enough. The poor and middle farmers are compelled to see their techniques stagnate, their stock, fertility and equipment deteriorate or go to ruin. These farmers are burdened with tremendous debts, mortgages, taxes, rents, and other forms of robbery.

In the Soviet Union, the poor and middle farmers have all the

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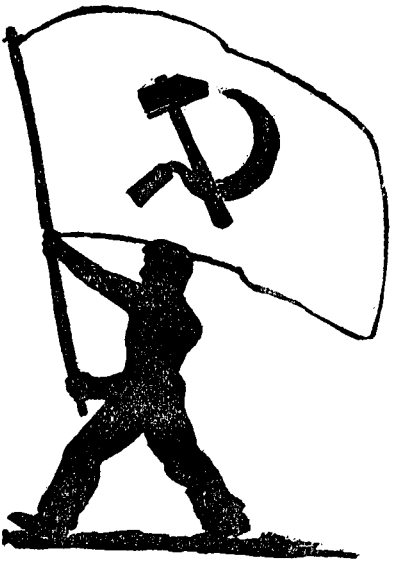
advantages of tractors and new machinery. There the kulaks have all the disadvantages. Capitalism has no remedy for the fundamental ills of agriculture—capitalism cannot unite the widening gap between the farmers' shattered economy, and the highly centralized city industry. In the Soviet Union, Socialist industry and collectivized peasant economy are interwoven in one great economic unit.

In this respect also the Soviet Union is a great beacon light to all revolutionary workers in capitalist countries where farmers suffer. The Communist Party in the Soviet Union shows the way to solve the agricultural problem in the transition period under the dictatorship of the proletariat.



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War and the Militarization of the American Marine Transport Industry

By T. W. RYAN

THE danger of war daily becomes more imminent and evident. The deepening economic crisis in the United States and its extension on an international scale, has immeasurably sharpened the contradictions between the imperialist powers and has greatly accelerated imperialist war preparations for an attack against the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

The accentuation of relations between the main imperialist countries: The United States, Great Britain, Japan, France and Italy and their determination to crush the Soviet Union, focuses still more the attention of the imperialists to the development of transport and its preparation for war.

In this connection it is necessary to emphasize that war preparations are not limited to the realm of foreign diplomacy, naval treaties, the building of permanent armies, fleets, arsenals, etc. The next war, the war of tomorrow will require a great apparatus—first and foremost, mass production, with supply, transport and communications organized on a similar scale controlled by a national "emergency" or war board.

"The war and the 'peaceful' industries will be completely merged. The whole national economy and not merely the entire industry will be rallied to supply war needs. A 'war economy' will be established. Already in present day war preparations we see that the basic thing is not the war industry as such, nor huge stocks of military supplies, but the proper preparation and adaptation of the entire economy to promote war."

MARINE TRANSPORT AND WAR

This is strikingly evidenced in the marine transportation system which during the past few years has been and is being strenuously prepared for military purposes. As established in the last world war, the merchant fleet is an integral part of the war apparatus. It provides lines of supplies, of communication, of troop transport, as well as a fleet of raiders and auxiliary cruisers.

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This was recognized by the naval authorities and diplomats at the Washington "Disarmament" Conference in 1922. The Washington Treaty, which has been scrapped for a more effective armament "agreement," provided among other things for "the necessary stiffening of decks (of merchant vessels—T. R.) for the manning of guns not exceeding a 6 inch calibre." The recent hearings on the London Naval treaty again brought out the fact that naval supremacy is based to a large extent on great commercial fleets.

American imperialism recognizes that it needs a large and well equipped merchant fleet not only for conversion in war times into an auxiliary fleet, but also in "peace" times, in order to effectively gain control of foreign markets, to oust foreign competition, especially British, and to "guarantee" the maintenance of American capitalism as the dominant imperialist world power.

This was shown between 1914 and 1928 when the sale of U. S. government merchant ships to private companies at a fraction of their cost, the granting of subsidies, of mail contracts, the exclusion of British and other foreign-owned shops from coastal and intercoastal trade, etc., were a major factor in increasing American trade with South America 277%, Asia 380%, Africa 375%—in helping gain world hegemony for American imperialism. It is in consideration of this that the U. S. government, as the other capitalist powers, has taken the necessary steps to build a merchant marine and to adapt it to the war program of Big Business.

JONES-WHITE WAR ACT

According to the Jones-White Act of 1928 the American merchant marine must be so built as to make it adaptable without great expenditure for war purposes. The Jones-White law provides for a 250 million dollar revolving loan fund for the construction of privately-owned ships. Private companies such as the International Mercantile Marine (Morgan interests), United States Lines, Dollar, Grace, Ward, Munson, etc., have or are planning to build vessels under the law by which they may borrow at low interest rates from the government up to 75% of a vessel's construction cost.

"Plans for merchant ships built with government loans under the Jones-White law must conform to Navy Department specifications, which provide for 6-inch gun positions, for placing of the engine room where it is most protected from possible gun fire, etc."

That the Jones-White Act is nothing more than a war measure, a part of the gigantic plans to militarize such strategic war industries as transport, chemical, steel, oil, aircraft, etc., is further indicated by provisions of the act to place officers of the U. S. Navy

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in command of the merchant fleet. The act permits officers of the U. S. Navy to volunteer for service on mail carrying vessels of the merchant marine. Such an officer when accepted by an owner and assigned to this duty by the Secretary of the Navy, will receive half pay from the Navy and whatever he can get from the owner of the mail packet. This provision further evidences the fusion of finance capital with the government apparatus—itself an essential war preparation.

Of equal importance in connection with the militarization of the marine transport industry as provided under the Jones-White Act is the provision that in time of a national "emergency" the United States may expropriate and purchase for national defense any vessel upon which any balance of a loan remains unpaid, or any vessel with an ocean mail contract which is in operation under provisions of the law. It is only too evident that the Jones-White Act is just one of the many measures designed to completely equip the merchant marine for the coming war.

NAVAL RESERVE SYSTEM

The transformation of the marine transport industry into a powerful and integral unit of the ever growing governmental war apparatus is also proceeding rapidly and openly under the Federal Act of 1925, which reorganized the Naval Reserve System.

The Naval Reserve is a component part of the U. S. Navy. Its mission is "to procure, organize and train the officers and men necessary in the event of war for the expansion and operation of the U. S. Fleet and Naval Transportation Service." It is comprised of three classes: the Fleet, Volunteer and Merchant Marine Naval Reserve.

The significance and development of the Merchant Marine Naval Reserve may well be determined from the estimation given in the annual reports of the Navy Department for the fiscal year 1928:

"The oustanding new development of the Naval Reserve during the past year is the establishment on a working base of a Merchant Marine Naval Reserve. Many merchant vessels will be required on the outbreak of war for auxiliary purposes. . . ." The purpose of the M.M.N.R., then, is to procure and train a personnel permanently employed on merchant vessels so that at the outbreak of war they will be qualified to take their places with the fleet with no undue confusion or delay.

"On August 15, 1928, nearly 1,500 commissions (today more than 3,000—T. R.) were mailed to merchant marine officers. . . . These officers represent more than 100 lines of shipping and more

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than 600 vessels of the American merchant marine." Needless to say, it is only a matter of time when the Naval Reserve System will be extended and all seamen will be forced to enroll, so that in event of war they may be automatically conscripted for service or in event of a strike they may be used by the government as a strike-breaking apparatus.

It must be pointed out that the rapid growth of the Naval Reserve is due principally to the efforts of the large shipping interests to enroll their ships in the system. The Navy Department in its report laments the fact that the Merchant Marine Naval Reserve is organized on a volunteer basis and that it does not provide salaries for its personnel. However, it attributes the development of the M.M.N.R. to the close "cooperation" of the ship owners who render every assistance in inducing (forcing) the men to enroll. It is clear that the Naval Reserve is an inseparable part of the war preparations officially sanctioned by finance capital in order to make ready the next world blood-bath.

ANOTHER WAR MEASURE

As noted the militarization of the marine industry is extended in every direction so as to effectively equip and train the merchant fleet for immediate duty at the outbreak of the war. The Naval Communications service under the supervision of the United States Navy is also a part of the war machinery.

According to the Bureau of Naval Operations, "The Naval Communications service is maintained primarily to provide communications with and within our fleets wherever naval units may be located." However, the Navy Department jointly with the ship owners is extending the service to the merchant marine as well. It is endeavoring wherever possible to establish visual signalling between naval craft and merchantmen so that crews and officers may familiarize themselves with these methods of communication.

The Navy Department openly states "that with more than 3,000 commissions in the Naval Reserve, such training as advocated will build up a reserve force of trained officers and men for emergency . . ." Already ships of the Union Oil Company, Panama-Pacific Line, the Dollar Fleet, etc., are pursuing the signalling orders and maintain visual contact with Navy craft.

The latest link in the chain of war preparations in the marine industry is the proposed merchant marine school for California. The State of California jointly with the U. S. Navy, U. S. Shipping Board and the Pacific Coast Steamship Owners Association intends to "prepare young Californians to be officers of commercial vessels

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in the great American Merchant Marine the government is promoting." The training ship will be provided by the U. S. Shipping Board and "will be assigned to the Navy Department and operated by the state under the Navy's guidance."

The sponsoring of the training ship further indicates the open preparations for war that characterize the present period, the rapid merging of Big Business with the state apparatus and illustrates how the capitalist state more openly functions as the executive committee of the employing class.

"MILITARIST" RATIONALIZATION

Capitalist rationalization which is proceeding at a rapid rate in the marine transport industry is also a vital part of the steps being taken to prepare the marine industry for the next war. Here it must be pointed out that capitalist rationalization, particularly in the present period of the general crisis of world capitalism, is undertaken not only as a means of increasing profits but also as a necessary measure to place industry on a war basis. For one of the twin products of bourgeois rationalization is to raise production to a maximum with a minimum number of workers, thus providing for a quick war-time mobilization of industry while maintaining a maximum number of workers available for direct participation in the armed forces.

As stated the ship-owner's rationalization drive is going ahead full speed. Marine internal combustion engines and motorships now exceed steamships in number and tonnage building throughout world shipyards. The change from steam to motorships has resulted in greater speed, more space for cargo, saving in fuel and in the permanent displacement of thousands of seamen, i. e., coal passers, firemen, water-tenders, etc. According to N. Sparks motorships save 50-60% of the quantity of fuel, increase speed 10-20%, provide 10-15% more cargo space and eliminate 40-50% of the engine room crew.

The introduction of the iron mike (automatic steering gear and gyroscopic compass) shipping hammers, paint spraying machine, electrified galleys, new pumping devices on oil tankers, etc., has "thrown on the beach" indefinitely thousands of marine workers. It has reduced the demand for skilled labor to a minimum, making marine labor for the most part, unskilled and semi-skilled labor. It has resulted in lowered wages, increased speed-up and the introduction of the two watch system (12 hour day) on many lines.

The effects of rationalization have also sharply affected the dock workers, particularly longshoremen. The introduction of automatic conveyors for loading and discharging cargo, electric cranes, electric

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trucks, etc. has raised the productivity of the longshoremen to a maximum. It has resulted in the cutting down of the gangs on the docks and in the hold, to a higher rate of accidents, reduction of wages and mass unemployment.

ATTACK M.W.I.U.

The attempts of the ship owners and their government, ably aided by their agents, the officialdom in the International Seamen's Union and International Longshoremen's Association, to crush the militant Marine Workers Industrial Union is an integral part of the bosses' rationalization drive to shift the burden of the economic crisis onto the shoulders of the marine workers, and to prepare for war. The shipowners recognize in the MWIU a powerful working class force which is organizing all marine workers to lead them in struggle against speed-up, lay-offs, the two-watch system, etc., at the same time mobilizing them to wage a relentless fight against imperialist war preparations and for the defense of the First Workers' and Peasants' Republic—the Soviet Union. Hence it is no accident that in Philadelphia, New Orleans, San Pedro, etc., the shipowners (through their blacklisting Fink Halls or U. S. Shipping Board), the police, the bureaucrats, and the gangsters of the ILA and ISU, the renegade leaders of the IWW and the fascist American Legion have formed a united front to try and destroy the new Red union of the seamen and longshoremen—the Marine Workers Industrial Union.

The militarization process in the marine industry as outlined is indicative of the war preparations going on in the chemical, auto, steel, aircraft, etc. and in every "war" industry. It gives additional, irrefutable testimony to the determination of American imperialism, as with the other capitalist powers, to fully prepare for the conversion of its policy of economic "penetration" into the inevitable policy of armed conquest (an extension of the policy now pursued in China, India, Nicaragua, etc.)

It serves to further expose the fake "peace" and "disarmament" pacts, *i. e.* Kellogg Pact, the London Naval Treaty, etc., so ably championed by the Hoover government, MacDonald's social-fascist imperialist regime and by the lackeys of finance capital from Norman Thomas of the renegade "Socialist" Party down to the fascist officialdom in the American Federation of Labor.

FOR A LENINIST STRUGGLE AGAINST WAR

An understanding of the war danger and the intensification of war preparations is not sufficient. The basic question for our Party and the revolutionary unions centers around the problem of wag-

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ing an effective struggle against imperialist war preparations, and in the event of war turning the imperialist war into civil war.

Since the whole national economy will, one way or another, be drawn into the war, since the keynote of all imperialist war preparations today is to adapt the entire industry, all the transport, communications, agriculture, etc. to war purposes, the struggle against imperialist war must be shouldered by the whole working class, and especially by its basic section, the masses of unskilled workers.

All the developments of militarization as noted are extremely important to determine the character, the methods and the prospects of the working class struggle against imperialist wars. Without this understanding there can be no Leninist struggle against imperialist war or war preparations.

Here we shall not concern ourselves with the struggle against imperialist war generally, but shall deal concretely with the tasks of our Party and the Marine Workers Industrial Union in the marine industry.

DEFEAT "OWN" EXPLOITERS

1. The struggle against war and for the defense of the Soviet Union is first of all a struggle against capitalist exploitation, against all forms of capitalist rationalization, wage cuts, unemployment, anti-labor laws, etc. Our Party must devote more attention to the organization of seamen and longshoremen, to the building of ship and dock nuclei and to linking up the struggles of the marine workers with the struggles of the working class generally in the fight against capitalism.

The Marine Workers Industrial Union must intensify its activities, must actually root itself in the industry through the building of ship and dock committees, by organizing and striking against wage cuts, unemployment, etc., by linking up the demands for social insurance, three watches on deck, a minimum wage of one dollar an hour for longshoremen, etc., with the slogans of "Not one cent for armaments; all funds for the unemployed" and "Against imperialist war; for the defense of the Soviet Union."

2. The fight against war cannot be successfully undertaken without a relentless and a sharp fight against the reformists, social-fascists, and particularly against the fascist officialdom in the International Seamen's Union and the International Longshoremen's Association. Andy Furuseth with the bureaucracy of the I. S. U. in accordance with the policy of the American Federation of Labor, was instrumental in enrolling American seamen in the capitalist war apparatus in 1917. "From 1917 to 1918—the most important activities of the union (I. S. U., also the I. L. A.—T. R.)

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was the concentration of efforts on the winning of the (bosses') war."

Today the official bureaucracy controlling the International Seamen's Union and the International Longshoremen's Association join with Green and Woll in converting their craft unions into vital parts of the imperialist war machinery. They have officially sanctioned the appropriations of billions for the navy, with the reservation that all dreadnaughts, aircraft carriers, etc. must be built with a union label. Their policy of class collaboration has as its keynote increased efficiency—in other words, full cooperation with the rationalization and war program of finance capital.

Furthermore, the I. S. U. and I. L. A.—shells of what were formerly powerful unions—collaborate with the employing class in attempting to divide the ranks of the working class. They preach Americanization and patriotism. They discriminate against and refuse to organize the Negro workers, as well as the rest of the unskilled in the marine industry. The I. L. A. and the I. S. U. must be ruthlessly combatted because with the intensification of war preparations and in the event of war they will be more effectively mobilized as a part of the governmental war apparatus to organize and betray the working class.

The Marine Workers Industrial Union must continue and broaden its campaign to build a powerful industrial union embracing all workers regardless of race, nationality, or color, maintaining a clear-cut policy of class struggle. Special efforts must be made to concretize the slogan for full social, economic and political equality for Negroes. An energetic fight must be undertaken against all forms of white chauvinism which have more than once manifested itself in the union. The new class struggle union must continually expose the fascist misleadership in the I. S. U. and I. L. A., at the same time stressing the policies of the Marine Workers Industrial Union, organize and lead the workers in their every-day struggles.

FOR WORKING CLASS SOLIDARITY

3. As a fighting part of the Red International of Labor Unions and its American section, the Trade Union Unity League, the Marine Workers Industrial Union must link up the struggles of the American seamen and longshoremen with the struggles of the marine workers the world over. The slogan of establishing "International Trade Union Unity" must be crystalized into active and for full support of the revolutionary struggles of the colonial workers in China, India, Latin America, etc. The marine workers with the working class as a whole must demand the immediate and unconditional independence of China, India, the Philippines, etc., and of

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all colonal and semi-colonial countries. They must protest and fight against imperialist intervention in these countries. They must refuse to load or transport either in times of "peace" or war, troops, arms or munitions. Committees of Action as set up in England in 1920 must be organized jointly with workers in other industries and unite with the workers in the army and navy to fight against war preparations.

4. A widespread ideological campaign must be undertaken among the marine workers, exposing the intensified war preparations of American imperialism, and the attempts of world imperialism to crush the Soviet Union. Every achievement of the workers and peasants in the U. S. S. R. and the tremendous successes in upbuilding Socialism, particularly in relation to the improvement of working conditions, etc. of the marine workers in the Soviet Union, must be made known to the American seamen and longshoremen. The lessons of the October Revolution must be popularized. The militant action of the longshoremen in Seattle who refused to load munitions to be sent to the counter-revolutionary Kolchak to be used against the Russian workers, must become the revolutionary heritage of the marine workers as well as of the entire American working class.

TURN IMPERIALIST WAR INTO CIVIL WAR

In the coming war the marine workers in unison with the revolutionary army of the proletariat, under the leadership of our Party, must and will turn the imperialist war into a civil war, aiming first of all at the defeat of American imperialism, of "our own" exploiters.

For neither the M. W. I. U. nor our Party can prevent war. Nor as the renegade I. W. W. contend, can a general strike be called at the outbreak of war to stop it. A general strike at such a time would be impossible without a powerfully organized Communist Party and revolutionary unions which could mobilize the working class to immediately convert the strike (that would take place under martial law) into civil war. Nevertheless, militant organization and mighty protests of workers as on August First can *postpone* war and prepare the working class to fight against it.

Thus at the beginning of the war the Party and the class struggle unions will be completely outlawed, if not sooner. In the marine as in every industry, the essential and major revolutionary activities will and must center around the building of nuclei and ship and dock committees which must carry on daily agitation against the war and win over their fellow workers for the proletarian revolution.

Every small strike that will break out or be organized against

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the intensive speed-up and other forms of rationalization, etc. must be immediately broadened and raised to a higher political level. For in a war period every conflict between the employing class and the proletariat assumes tremendous political significance and further weakens the fighting front of the bourgeoisie.

As pointed out, the seamen and longshoremen must organize and refuse to transport troops, etc., especially those which will be used against the Soviet Union. However, if due to organizational weakness on certain ships or lines a strike does not tie up shipping, militant seamen must sign up and build anti-war committees and systematically carry on daily anti-war agitation; so that with every opportunity, with the intense dissatisfaction that will rapidly develop with the progress of war, ever larger numbers of workers will be brought directly into struggle and under the guidance of our Party, will transform the imperialist conflict into an armed conquest for working class power, for the establishment of a revolutionary Workers' Government.

The next imperialist war is not far in the offing. But the outcome will not result in victory for the bourgeoisie. The working class steeled in the fight against wage cuts, unemployment, speed-up methods, vicious anti-labor laws, persecution, etc., and under the banner of our Party and the Red trade unions, will turn the bosses' war for profits into a class war from which only the proletariat will emerge victorious.

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The Bourgeois-Democratic Revolution and Soviet Power in China

By R. DOONPING

I.

ENTERING A NEW PERIOD

THE Chinese Revolution is passing through a critical phase of its development. Successful peasant uprisings, aided by guerilla warfare, under the leadership of the Communist Party of China, have already crystalized into more or less firmly established Soviet governments, under which about 70,000,000 workers, peasants, and soldiers are ruling themselves. The decision to change from the policy of "scattered guerilla attack" to that of "concentrated warfare" was made September last year (*Chinese Red Flag*, May 24,1930), but by the end of April this year there was already an organized Red Army of 75,000 men with 57,200 rifles. (*Inprecorr*, Vol. 10, No. 40.) Much has happened since April, and the revolution in China has literally advanced by leaps and bounds within these few months. A special mail despatch from Shanghai, the *Chinese Workers Correspondence*, dated August 25, 1930, summarizes briefly the advances the revolution has made so far in the following words:

> "In various provinces in China there are over two hundred districts (the whole of China Proper, including Manchuria and Chinese Turkestan, is divided into about 1,600 districts) controlled by Soviet governments, over 6,000,000 organized armed peasants, and 300,000 men in the Red Armies. There is now the great possibility of seizing the economic and political centers by the Red Armies in conjunction with workers' and peasants' uprisings."

The same despatch also carries the very important news that "the Communist Party of China is preparing for the organization of a central Soviet Government which will provide a rallying center for the workers and peasant masses throughout the country in their struggles and centralize the political, administrative, and military organization of the areas ruled by Soviets of workers', peasants', and soldiers' deputies."

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Contrary to the lying and malicious assertions of the renegade press, the disproportion between the revolutionary developments in the country and that in the cities is fast disappearing and the struggle of the proletariat in the big cities is no longer lagging behind the forward march of the agrarian revolution. (*Chinese Red Flag*, May 24, 1930.) This situation is clearly reflected in the militant struggle of the workers in the egg factories, cotton mills, and on the waterfront in Wuhan, the shoe workers general strike in Harbin, the persistent struggles of workers in the textile mills, tobacco factories, and match factories in Tsingtao, the fearless revolutionary activities of the proletariat of Tientsin, Tangshan, and Hongkong, and finally the most important of all, the three-week victorious strike of the electrical and water workers of Shanghai, on the eve of May Day this year which was conducted almost openly under the leadership of the Red unions and Communists.

The problem of a more coordinated development of the struggles in city and country and the different branches of the Red Armies was raised at the Soviet Area Congress which was held on May 30 and the days following. Since then a concerted drive was made against the bloody Kuomintang regime of exploitation and white terror. Within two months after the Soviet Congress, the Red forces took Changsha, in conjunition with the uprising of the workers in this big city of a half million population, and a concentration of forces was made towards Kiukiang and Hankow, two of the biggest industrial cities along the Yangtze River. If not for the imperialist gunboats lying in the Yangtze River which aided the Kuomintang militarists by taking a direct hand in attempting to suppress the revolution, the workers', peasants', and Red Armies would have long ago succeeded in capturing these major cities in central China. But, despite this important factor of imperialist intervention, which must be taken into serious consideration, the steady rise of the revolutionary wave in the industrial centers, the repeated success of peasant uprisings and the rapid victorious advance of the Red Armies certainly raise the crucial question of the organization of a central Soviet Government and the transition of the present situation of large scale guerilla fighting into that of a revolutionary civil war.

The Soviet Area Congress in May this year, taking cognizance of this crucial question raised by the demands of the historical moment, correctly decided to convene an All-China Soviet Congress in November,[1] on the Thirteenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution, to consider the momentous question of the establishment of

[1] The date has been changed to December 11.—EDITOR.

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a Chinese Central Soviet Government. That the Communist Party of China is now actively engaged in preparation for this task, as the *Chinese Workers Correspondence* despatch reports, is another evidence of the fact that this is one of the main problems confronting the Chinese Revolution. The Chinese Revolution is certainly on the verge of entering a new period, and on the threshold of taking a very important historical step, a step that will not only affect China, but will have far-reaching results throughout the world.

II.

SOVIETS VS. "NATIONAL ASSEMBLY"

The Trotskyist liquidationists, whose opportunist blindness leads them to designate the present period in China as "the Stolypin period of Chiang Kai-shek" (*Militant*, March 15, 1929), stubbornly speak of "the extraordinary low ebb of the peasant movement," assert that China has "not yet approached the beginning of a revolutionary ascent," even shamelessly deny the existence of soviets and a strong centralized Communist Party in China (*Militant*, June 14, 1930), and of course, can never dream of a central Soviet Government and a situation of revolutionary civil war in China. Instead of squarely facing the facts and frankly deducing from the facts a real revolutionary perspective, Trotsky and his agents in China and elsewhere deny and falsify facts, and throw dust in the eyes of the masses. They certainly deserve the title "liquidationists," because, by raising the slogan of National (Constituent) Assembly for China, which is also the slogan of the "left" Kuomintang (Wang Chin-wei group) and the northern militarists, these renegades are practically trying to tag the mass revolutionary movement to the tail of the "left" Kuomintang and the northern militarists, which amounts to *liquidating* the mass revolutionary movement into the camp of the national bourgeoisie, as represented by Wang Chin-wei and company.

Fortunately, the revolutionary movement has already grown to such a degree as to enable the Trotskyist nonsense to expose itself by its sheer ridiculousness. The slogan of "National Assembly" is now regarded in China as a slogan of counter-revolution, just as much as the "left" Kuomintang is glaringly exposed in the limelight as a party of bourgeois counter-revolution. On the other hand, the slogan of the Soviets, which would only discredit itself and estrange the masses when prematurely raised, as Trotsky proposed to do in China even during the early days of the last revolutionary wave, when the masses did not yet feel the demand for it, is now definitely recognized by the revolutionary masses of China

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as the beacon light that guides their struggles. Masses learn from concrete political experience. It is the concrete political experience of the Canton Soviet in December, 1927, and the history and living example of numerous local Soviet governments in south and central China that have taught the Chinese masses the meaning and function of the soviets. Such experience is now the social property of the struggling masses of China and no amount of phrase-mongering by Trotsky and his agents about the "National Assembly" can take it out of them!

That there are soviets and a growing struggle for the extension of soviet power in China no honest person will deny. It is also not difficult for anybody who is acquainted with conditions in China to understand that any person who still dreams of the establishment of a "parliamentary-democratic institution" in China (*Militant*, June 14, 1930) must either belong to the lunatic fringe of Utopian "muddlers" or the class of conscious liars. China is in such a continuous economic and political crisis and the exploitation of the masses has reached such an intolerable degree that only by a regime of ruthless white terror can the imperialists and native rulers keep political power in their hands. And above all, China is a country whose semi-colonial economy offers no perspective of any significant capitalist development. These circumstances, coupled with a capitalist world milieu where the process of fascization is going on practically in every country, exclude the slightest possibility for the successful establishment in China of a "parliamentary-democratic institution" such as the "National Assembly" proposed by Trotsky.

It is interesting to note that even Trotsky's muddle-headed lieutenants in China are compelled by the political realities in China to question the feasibility of the slogan. In a letter to Trotsky, his Chinese followers betrayed their doubt in the slogan by asking the question: "Is it possible to carry on agitation for a Constituent Assembly while denying that it can be accomplished?" Trotsky insists upon his slogan of confusion and counter-revolution and angrily retorts: "Why should we decide beforehand that it cannot be accomplished?" Then Trotsky goes on, in his characteristic menshevik way, dreaming (*Militant*, June 14, 1930) about the time when the Communists will take part in a National Assembly convened by "a part of the Kuomintang together with a 'third party.'" He even thinks that by working inside as well as outside the assembly the Communists can force the "petty-bourgeois parties" to convene "a comparatively more democratic National Assembly."

Only after all these imaginary steps does Trotsky conceive of the possibility of "replacing the assembly with a higher form of government, that is, the Soviets." Unfortunately for Trotsky, but for-

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tunately for the Chinese revolution, the "third party" never grows strong enough to have any bearing upon the political situation, while "a part of the Kuomintang," the "left" Kuomintang, punched the soap bubble of Trotsky's expectations and knocked out whatever illusions the masses might still entertain in regard to the National Assembly by flatly prohibiting any Communist from taking part in the "National Assembly" which they propose to convene.

III.

THE BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN CHINA

The root of Trotsky's opposing the fighting slogan of soviets with the backsliding slogan of the "National Assembly" lies in his wrong analysis of the objective situation which, in turn, is a direct result of his wrong theory of "permanent revolution," the theory of jumping over the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The very question of the possibility and advisability of the establishment of a central Soviet government and of the transition to a period of revolutionary civil war in the nearest future, of which I spoke at the beginning of the article, depends upon the general character of the present stage of the Chinese Revolution.

Both the Seventh and Eighth Plenums of the Communist International pointed out that the Chinese Revolution is still at the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The Ninth Plenum of the Communist International (February, 1928), which first summarized the invaluable experience of the Chinese Revolution and laid down the line for the present period, characterized the present stage of the Chinese Revolution in the following words:

> "The present period of the Chinese Revolution is a period of bourgeois democratic revolution, which has not been carried through to its end either in the economic sense (the agrarian revolution and the annihilation of feudal relationships) or in the sense of the national struggle against imperialism (the uniting of China and national independence), or in the sense of the class nature of the government (the dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry). The characterization of the current stage of the Chinese revolution as one which has already grown into a socialist revolution is inaccurate. Its characterization as a 'permanent' revolution is an error analogical to that into which Trotsky fell in 1905. This error is the more dangerous since this conception of the issue excludes also the greatest national feature of the Chinese revolution as a semi-colonial revolution." (P. Braun—*At the Parting of the Ways*: The results of the Ninth Plenum of the Comintern. p. 116.)

This line was confirmed both by the Sixth National Convention

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of the Communist Party of China and the Sixth World Congress of the Communist International.

The term "bourgeois democratic," particularly the word "bourgeois," creates considerable confusion among comrades who are not familiar with the historical content of the various stages of the social revolution and the distinction, which must be drawn for the sake of clarity, between the tasks and the driving forces of the revolution. It must be made clear at the outset that when we speak of a revolution as being at a certain stage, we primarily refer to the *historical content of its tasks*. In other words, we characterize a certain stage of a revolution by first examining the social-economic and political conditions of the country, determining to what stage of historical development it has attained, and finally ascertaining the major tasks, the socio-economic and political changes that will be the immediate logical accomplishments of the revolution.

For instance, in countries like the United States, Germany, or Great Britain, where capitalism is full-grown with small-scale production reduced to relative insignificance, where almost all remnants of feudalism have already been eradicated, where the bourgeois national state is united, political independence achieved, and the peasants liberated from the feudal yoke, the major tasks of the revolution will be socialist in character. "In such countries the fundamental political demand . . . is direct transition to the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the economic sphere, the most characteristic demands are: expropriation of the whole of large-scale industry; organization of a large number of State Soviet farms and in contrast to this, a relatively small portion of the land to be transferred to the peasantry; unregulated market relations to be given comparatively small scope; rapid rate of socialist development generally, and of collectivization of peasant farming in particular." (Program of the Communist International, *Inprecorr*, Vol. 8, No. 92.)

But in colonial and semi-colonial countries like China, India, etc., where, though having a certain degree of development in modern industry, feudal, medieval relationships prevail in their economy as well as in their social and political superstructure with the imperialists dominating the country both economically and politically, where the overwhelming majority of the toiling masses are peasants suffering under the brutal feudalistic methods of exploitation, the principle tasks of the revolution are bourgeois-democratic in character. Such tasks are on the one hand, to struggle "against feudalism and pre-capitalist forms of exploitation, and to develop systematically the peasant agrarian revolution"; and on the other hand, to struggle "against foreign imperialism and for national in-

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dependence." (Program of the Communist International.) To artificially force a colonial or semi-colonial country to rush to the tasks of socialist or proletarian revolution without passing through "a series of preparatory stages," as the Comintern program puts it, is switching the colonial revolution to a side track and dashing it to pieces.

As for the driving force of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in colonies and semi-colonies, it is undoubtedly the toiling masses, the proletariat and the peasantry. At the beginning of the capitalist era, at the period of the great French Revolution, when capitalism was facing a period of upward development, the growing and increasingly strengthened capitalist class was able to carry the bourgeois-democratic revolution to a successful conclusion. But the weak and spineless colonial and semi-colonial bourgeoisie, in the period of imperialism, who, at a certain stage during the revolution, is bound to pass over to the side of the imperialists and native feudal forces and become their willing slave and ally, can never accomplish the tasks of the colonial (bourgeois-democratic) revolution. Therefore, the colonial revolution can only be completed under the leadership of the proletariat. However, although the driving force in the colonial revolution, especially after the bourgeoisie has betrayed the revolution, is the toiling masses, and the leadership is taken by the proletariat, this does not necessarily make the revolution a proletarian revolution, as Trotsky asserts.

THE PROBLEM OF TRANSITION AND "PERMANENT REVOLUTION"

The central question underlying Trotsky's wrong theory of "permanent revolution" is the difficult and yet highly important problem of the *transition from one stage of the revolution to another.*

Of course, this question, as all other such questions of Marxism and Leninism, cannot and should not be discussed in the abstract. Lenin has most correctly emphasized: "Marxism demands of us a most exact, an objectively verifiable analysis of the inter-relations of classes and of the concrete peculiarities of each historic moment. . . . 'Our doctrine is not a dogma, but a guide to action,' said Marx and Engels, who always scorned the mere acquisition and repetition of 'formulæ,' capable at best only of outlining *general* tasks, which are necessarily changed by the concrete economic and political circumstances of each particular period in a historical process." (*Lenin's Works,* Vol. XX, Book 1, pp. 118-119.)

This is particularly true of the question of transition from one stage of the revolution to another. The realities of the varied conditions of this very delicate historic moment in each concrete instance are bound to be very different and are liable to raise dis-

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tinctly different questions. However, there is a thread that runs through all possible variations of the question of this transition; that is the question of the agrarian revolution. The agrarian revolution is the main feature of the bourgeois-democratic revolution. The greater the role the agrarian revolution plays in a particular revolution, the slower and the more protacted will be the tansition, and vice versa. Of course, it is ridiculous to assume that, by one stroke, a "pure" bourgeois revolution will be transformed into a "pure" proletarian revolution. There is no such thing as a transition from one "pure" to another, as dyeing a piece of white cloth into a black one. There are more or less elements of proletarian revolution in a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and elements of bourgeois-democratic revolution (the completion of the unfinished tasks of this stage) in a proletarian revolution. The one (proletarian revolution) is grown within the wombs of the other (bourgeois-democratic revolution) and the latter does not disappear all at once after the former comes into being. Therefore, *whether a particular revolution, containing elements of both, is a bourgeois-democratic revolution or a proletarian revolution depends upon which element dominates*. If the specific gravity of the capitalist and pre-capitalist elements in a particular country are such that the unfinished tasks of the agrarian revolution can be carried over to the proletarian revolution, and be accomplished under the dictatorship of the proletariat, a transition to the proletarian revolution is possible. This was done in Russia in November, 1917. Although, at that time, the tasks of the agrarian revolution were not yet all occomplished, and the soviets in the villages were still organs of the democratic dictatorship, instead of proletarian dictatorship, the specific gravity of the Russian city proletariat and its material and political positions were such that not the agrarian revolution, but the socialist elements in the revolution dominated. The fundamental tasks of the November Revolution were socialist in character. It is correctly understood and was brought about under the leadership of Lenin.

In China it is a different story. There the bourgeois-democratic elements of the revolution, primarily the agrarian revolution, dominate the scene. Therefore, the fundamental tasks of the revolution, as correctly pointed out by the Seventh, Eighth, Ninth Plenums, and the Sixth Congress, are bourgeois-democratic in character. The last revolutionary wave of 1925-1927, with all that passed during these two eventful years, did not change this fact because none of the fundamental tasks of the revolution has yet been accomplished. The overwhelming majority of the Chinese population, the toiling masses, is still groaning under the iron heels of the imperialists, semi-feudal, and bourgeois ruling classes. The chief tasks of the

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Chinese revolution, as formulated in the following fundamental slogans in the Colonial Resolution by the Sixth Congress, are, therefore correct, and answer the need of the present situation. The demands are:

1) Overthrow of imperialist domination.
2) Confiscation of foreign enterprises and banks.
3) Unity of the country, with recognition of the right of each nationality to self-determination.
4) Overthrow of the power of the militarists and Kuomintang.
5) Establishment of the power of Soviets of workers', peasants', and soldiers' representatives.
6) The 8-hour working day, increase of wages, assistance to the unemployed, and social insurance.
7) Confiscation of all lands of landlords; land for the peasants and soldiers.
8) The abolition of all governmental, militarist and local taxes and levies; a single progressively graduated income tax.
9) Alliance with the U. S. S. R. and the world proletarian movement.

On the question of the transition to the socialist and proletarian revolution, the Colonial Resolution clearly states the Marxist-Leninist position in the following words:

> "The transition of the revolution to the socialist phase demands the presence of certain minimum prerequisites, as, for example, a certain definite level of development in the country of industry, of trade union organizations of the proletariat and a strong Communist Party. The most important is precisely the development of a strong Communist Party with a big mass influence, which would be in the highest degree a slow and difficult process were it not accelerated by the bourgeois-democratic revolution which already grows and develops as a result of the objective conditions in these countries."

It is conceivable that, under colonial conditions, where such "minimum pre-requisites" are not yet present, the transition to the socialist phase of the revolution *may come after the proletariat and peasantry have seized power,* and established the democratic-dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry. Under the guidance of the proletariat which must play the leading role in the bourgeois-democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, the transition to the socialist phase, to the dictatorship of the proletariat, will not have to go through another "violent revolution," but can be accomplished by the process of "*growing into,*" as pointed out by the Program of the Communist International. Of course, the process of "grow-

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ing into" does not exclude class struggle, nor does it necessarily need no violence. But what characterizes this process in contradistinction to the process of "violent revolution" is that, in this process, the class struggle is fought under the condition of the proletariat having already had political hegemony in the government, so the transtion could be accomplished by a gradual progressive shifting of class forces without interrupting the continuity of the "government," while, in the process of "violent revolution," the class struggle fighting under conditions of political power still being retained in the hands of the enemy, the transition can only be brought about by a violent overthrow of the existing political power and the replacing of it by a new government.

Trotsky does not and refuses to understand that the transition can be achieved by the bourgeois-democratic revolution "growing into" the socialist revolution, because, owing to his distortion of Marx's idea of permanent revolution into "something lifeless, something bookish and doctrinnaire" (Stalin, *Leninism*, p. 18), Trotsky takes a mechanical view of the transition. He takes Marx's "formulæ" which were formulated on the basis of the bourgeois revolution in Germany in 1848-1850, when the German proletariat was not yet strong enough to lead the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and tries to transplant it to the conditions of today, when the leading role of the colonial proletariat, strengthened by the cooperation of the world proletariat, is already assured. Therefore, to Trotsky, the possibility of the bougeois-democratic revolution being carried out under the leadership of the proletariat is excluded, and thus, there is absolutely no chance for any process of "growing into"; the transition must be achieved by "violent revolution." Such an understanding of the question naturally means that there is a gross underestimation of the revolutionary potentialities of the peasantry and the ability of the proletariat to lead the peasantry. Hence Trotsky's wrong picture of the dialectics of the transition. Hence the Trotsky brand of the theory of "permanent revolution," the theory of "skipping" the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution. The Trotskyist underestimation of the role of the agrarian revolution, its inability to see the world-shaking exploits and tremendous possibilities of the peasant guerilla warfare in China, and its slandering of Chinese guerilla Red troops as bandits—all have their roots in this basic mistake of Trotskyism.

THE DEMOCRATIC DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND PEASANTRY

Confusion in regard to the bourgeois-democratic revolution leads to further confusion in regard to the democratic-dictatorship of the

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proletariat and peasantry. What is the difference between the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry and the dictatorship of the proletariat if the proletariat plays the leading role in both? This question was quite frequently met with by instructors in the functionaries courses, the various classes in the Workers' School, lecturers and speakers on the colonial question. There are also Chinese and Latin American comrades, in the field of actual struggle for the establishment of a democratic-dictatorship, who feel the need of further clarification on this question. One of the difficulties of this question arises out of the confusion which Trotsky deliberately introduced by identifying the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry with the "dictatorship of the Kuomintang." (*Militant,* July 12, 1930.) It is not surprising at all that Trotsky should have identified the two, because to Trotsky, the democratic-dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry is nothing but bourgeois democracy. (Trotsky, *Draft Program of the Comintern: A Criticism of Fundamentals,* p. 88.) If we accept this confusion introduced by Trotsky, naturally we will have to accept his dictum that there can be nothing in between the "dictatorship of the Kuomintang" and the October dictatorship in Russia. (*Militant,* July 12, 1930.) In this case, we would have to fall into his trap that since the "dictatorship of the Kuomintang" before 1927 flopped, the "Third Chinese Revolution" a la Trotsky, will be a proletarian revolution for the establishment of a proletarian dictatorship. But it is clear here that we will have to accept the confusion which Trotsky deliberately introduced in order to agree with his conclusions!

But obviously we would be dupes to accept the Trotskyist confusion which is nothing but pure fraud! The democratic-dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry is not bourgeois democracy, nor are the Kuomintang governments at Canton and Wuhan before 1927 concrete examples of the democratic dictatorship.

The democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry differs from the dictatorship of the proletariat in the same way as the bourgeois-democratic revolution differs from the proletarian revolution.

Just as there are no "pure" types in the revolutionary process, there is neither "pure" democratic-dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry, nor "pure" dictatorship of the proletariat. Whether a government is the one or the other depends upon the relative share of the proletariat, peasantry, and city poor in the power of the state, as well as the predominant characteristics of the socio-economic policies of the state which are concrete expressions of the stage the

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revolution has reached. It is naturally implied that all the possible variations are limited within the confines of the Soviet form of state as well as under the leadership of the proletariat. Beyond the confines of either, there can neither be an effective democratic-dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry nor a dictatorship of the proletariat. Of course, the concrete instance of each individual case depends upon the peculiarities of historical conditions. One democratic dictatorship may not and cannot be the exact copy of the other. The length of time required and the exact manner of transition from one stage of the revolution to another cannot be fixed by any general formulæ and must be determined by the "complex, urgent, rapidly unfolding practical tasks of the revolution" (Lenin), using theory above all as a guide to action, rather than trying to distort the realities of the situation to fit into some preconceived mechanical formulæ. This is the only dialectical approach to the question of the transition of the revolutionary process.

SOVIETS AND THE BOURGEOIS-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

Another question about which there is considerable confusion is the question of the relationship between the soviets and the bourgeois-democratic stage of the revolution. It is sometimes erroneously assumed that there can only be Soviets in a proletarian revolution. This, of course, is wrong. As early as during the Second Congress of the Communist International, Lenin, while characterizing the colonial revolutionary movements as bourgeois-democratic, definitely stated that "the unconditional duty of the Communist Parties, and of those elements which are attached to them, is to carry on propaganda for the idea of the peasant Soviets, Soviets of toilers everywhere and anywhere, both in the backward countries and in the colonies, and there they must strive, as far as conditions permit, to set up soviets of the toiling people." (*Communist International*, Vol. VI, Nos. 9-10, p. 284.) Actual life has confirmed the correctness of this statement by Lenin.

The question of Soviets in the backward countries has already passed from the realm of estimates and anticipations to the realm of concrete reality. The tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, the agrarian revolution in China, are being daily carried out on the battlefield of one of the fiercest class struggles in history in the form of the struggle for the establishment of Soviets and under the protecting wings of soviet political power in areas where Soviets already exist. The only concrete expression of the democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry in China is crystalized in the Soviet form of the political power of the toiling masses,

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the Soviet government of the workers', peasants', and soldiers' deputies.

IMPERIALIST INTERVENTION IN CHINA AND TASKS OF U. S. PROLETARIAT

The necessity of "bringing about a union of the proletarian and toiling masses of all nations and countries for a joint revolutionary struggle leading to the overthrow of the landowners and capitalists," which was properly brought out and emphasized by the Second Congress of the Communist International is so familiar that no further explanation is necessary. Suffice it to say that the importance of the cooperation which the international proletariat, particularly the proletariat of the imperialist countries, owe the Chinese revolution is in direct proportion to the extraordinary significance of the historic events that are taking place in China.

The transition to a new form of struggle in China which may soon occur with the establishment of a central Soviet Government and thus the creation of a situation of revolutionary civil war, will necessarily arouse the imperialist powers to increased activity for the suppression of the revolution. It is true that it is silly to speak of imperialist intervention in China as if it is a new and sudden thing. In fact, by stationing troops on Chinese territory and warships in Chinese waters and by infesting China with their agents of various complexion, the imperialist powers have been intervening in Chinese affairs for nearly a century. This has been true particularly in the last few years. However, it is important to distinguish between the present stage of the policy of imperialist intervention from former intervention, for the very reason that the intervention is now larger in extent, more direct in its operations, and above all, is directed against a rising revolutionary wave, and a growing young Soviet power, struggling to extend itself over the vast territory of China.

In the event of the establishment of a central Soviet government struggling to annihilate the government or governments of the imperialist lackeys, it will immediately create a situation of revolutionary civil war, with revolutionary forces in the one camp and all counter-revolutionary forces in the other camp. The imperialist powers will almost certainly take a direct hand in fighting for the overthrow of the Chinese Soviet Government. Since the resistance of the native counter-revolutionary forces are quite limited, it pushes the question of the struggle against imperialist intervention to the foreground. Thus, it seems that, providing a correct Bolshevist line is adopted in the internal policies of the Chinese Soviet Government, the issue of the victory or defeat of the Chinese

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revolution will depend upon how the question of the intervention is solved.

This fact, together with the circumstance that it occurs in the midst of a world economic crisis and on the eve of an imperialist war, is bound to contribute, to accelerate, the coming of the world war, marks the peculiar character of the present imperialist intervention in China, and gives it an exceptional importance that deserves full and immediate recognition.

This phase of the Chinese revolution imposes a particularly grave task on the shoulders of the workers in the imperialist countries. Owing to the fact that American imperialism has been exceptionally aggressive in China during recent years, the workers of the United States of America have an especially heavy responsibility in the struggle against intervention in China. Twice in the short period of one year, American imperialism fought against all odds in China and pulled Chiang Kai-Shek out of the jaws of death. Events at Changsha and other places in the last few weeks have already borne out that in the struggle against the revolution, American imperialism is also distinguishing itself by its aggressiveness and brutality. It is the class duty of the American working class to take full notice of this fact and meet the situation with courage and appropriate measures.

The building of a strong "Hands-off Soviet China" movement is an immediate task facing the Communist Party of U. S. A. and the toiling masses of the United States. "Hands-off Soviet China" Committees must be organized in the shops and factories, and among the army, navy and air forces, particularly those that are detailed for "service" in the Far East. The struggle against intervention in China must be closely linked up with the general tasks of the Party in this period, and the movement should be organized with two objectives in mind: one is the building of a broad mass "Hands-off Soviet China" movement, and the other is the utilization of this important issue to broaden and deepen the influence of the Communist Party among the American masses. The work should be conducted in such a way that the two objectives will be attained at the same time without prejudicing either the one or the other.

The most dangerous obstacle that must be overcome before any mass "Hands-off Soviet China" movement can be built up, is whatever apathy or cynicism still lingers among the American masses as well as even a part of the Communist Party membership. The best weapon to destroy this cynicism, to break this mental resistance is the lessons of the Russian Revolution. For five long years, the protracted civil war which imperialist intervention imposed upon the struggling masses of Russia, lasted, producing untold misery and suffering on the part of the Russian masses, but finally not the

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revolution but the intervention collapsed. It is true that the heroic resistance of the Russian masses and their spear head, the Red Army, brought about the defeat of the imperialist policy of intervention, but it must not be forgotten that revolutionary activities among the imperialist troops and militant resistance of soldiers and sailors in the imperialist forces against the policy of intervention also contributed considerably in breaking the backbone of the intervention.

The glorious histories of the French Black Sea Fleet Mutiny, the rebellion of British troops at Archangel, and the discontent of the American and Japanese forces in Siberia must always remain sources of inspiration for the international proletariat. They should destroy any cynicism and instill confidence in the struggle against intervention in China. The revolutionary masses of China are calling upon their brothers and sisters, fellow workers, in the capitalist countries, particularly those in the United States, to emulate the spirit of these glorious records of revolutionary history and do their share in defeating imperialist intervention and bringing the Chinese Revolution, part of the World Revolution, to a successful and victorious conclusion!

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The Political Situation of Brazil

By ARMANDO GUERRA

(This article was written for the September issue of THE COMMUNIST but translation delayed printing until this present issue. The recent revolt placed Vargas in the presidency.—EDITOR.)

WE have before us the letter of General Luis Carlos Prestes, one of the military chiefs of the petty bourgeois revolt of 1924-1926. The letter is interesting and merits our comment, but first it is necessary to say a few words about Brazil, which to many comrades appears only as an African jungle where still hangs the monkey and exists the tropical zoo.

a) The Petty Bourgeoisie and Feudalism. The political history of Brazil has arisen from the struggle between feudal agrarian capitalism with modern characteristics, and the petty bourgeoisie nurtured by local industrialists. This struggle has almost always been underground and the lack of a subjective factor which might analyze and make it obvious, has not always permitted it to be clearly seen—this "invisible" struggle, disguised with compromise and temporary alliances. Yet at times the struggle became open with noonday clarity, acquiring the aspects of violence that was frequently armed.

Contrary to the other South American republics, which from the declaration of "independence from Spain" (that is to say, from the metropolis), acquired a bourgeois republican system of government, Brazil adopted the monarchist system at its "independence" from Portugal. The republican system was not attained until 1889, when the abolition of Negro slavery was declared. This republican movement was headed by English industrialists who brought the railroad. The railroad determined the "republic" in Brazil. The social slogan of the British railroaders was the liberation of the Negro, the abolition of slavery. Here it would have an element to assure itself of a military force, a basic force against the feudal elements of Brazil.

But the Englishmen who laid the first railroad ties were taking another turn; those who expected the industrialization of Brazil found, shortly, that the industrial conquerors were turning into planters, proprietors of great areas of land, of plantations of coffee, sugar, cotton, wheat, livestock, etc. The railway was but an element of easy locomotion and rapid transport. Here industrialism in the real sense of the word died. Only light industry advanced; textile

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for local consumption (and not even to satisfy that), shoes, glass, paper, etc.

The extension of the world market for coffee enriched the planters, especially the British, who were more powerful and with greater credit in the metropolis, and also gave a basis for coffee playing a more dominant role in national economy. Coffee, the product of decisive importance, and the coffe interests exercised political hegemony in the country.

Thus we see that in Brazilian politics, two predominant states took turns in presidential leadership, both with agrarian characteristics and, moreover, dedicated to coffee: Sao Paulo and Minas Geraes. As time went on, Sao Paulo was the state which, in the inter-imperialist struggles localized in Brazil, would be held by the English, while the Yankee imperialists, who followed this local vein, intrenched themselves in Minas Geraes to the point of having invested in the late months of last year around $200,000,000 in mines. But we must follow the story historically a bit more.

Agrarianism, better said modernized feudalism, due to the factor of coffee, took or retook positions. Light "industrialism" took strength from financial capital and the struggle continued, taking violent proportions at times, at others mutely disguised.

This struggle localized itself in Brazilian history in the following manner: The attempt to restore the monarchy in 1893; anti-protection tariffs in 1890-1893, 1905 and 1920; the successive stabilizations of coffee prices, and even the social legislation granting national lands to European colonists, initiated in 1914. In 1922 there appeared the tendency to combat the great feudalist with the tax against the great proprietors who managed to smother the revolt that was then agitating the country.

b) The revolt of July, 1924. The Brazilian army, by its social composition if we refer to those at its head, is typically petty bourgeois. This army class of the officialdom would support in an armed movement "such industrialism" (of the petty and light industry type) in the security that the petty bourgeoisie would be permitted to transform itself into a governing national bourgeoisie. This revolt may also be characterized as the inter-imperialist struggle localized in Brazil. This revolt, by its predominant factors, has the same characteristics that shortly afterward were shown in the revolt of Gonzalo Escobar against Portes Gil-Calles in Mexico in 1929.

From Yankee capital that in 1914 had no invested value, in 1918 the government of Brazil asked and obtained $150,000,000. And from this date the inter-imperialist fight is shown electorally at times, violent and armed at others. In 1918 Epitassio Pessoa passed from the presidency to be representative of the Yankee bank notwithstand-

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ing the weakness of American investment compared to that of the English.

In the election for president for the four-year term 1922-1926, an armed revolt solved the question favorably to British imperialism in the person of Arturo Bernardez; it was supposed that by a rotation the presidency would fall to a chief of the state of Minas Geraes, today in the hands of Yankee imperialism (American Smelting Company having invested at the end of the past year around $200,000,000 in mines.)

A few days after the first revolt of July, 1922, the Communist Party was born, with active elements previously anarchistic. From that moment the Party lived in illegality or semi-legality.

A partial economic crisis came in 1924. The elements, previously termed "Industrialists" (today gathered in a political party called "liberal"), attacked the positions of British imperialism, on the excuse of a lack of electoral democracy, a lack of liberty.

Industrialism returned, as in the former revolt, to lose its starting point, which was naught but the petty bourgeoisie of the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Sergipe, and part of the industrialists of Sao Paulo (especially the textile industry.)

But this time there was displayed a force that showed itself very obscurely, very tenuously, as a political force capable of meriting a temporary alliance with us. This was the force of the Division General, Isidoro Diaz Lopes. But, more than this, from the division of this general there stood out a column that was then commanded by Captain Luis Carlos Prestes, that by its size would allow him the rank of colonel, and which a little later was to transform itself into a general's column.

General Isidoro Diaz Lopes was in possession of the city of Sao Paulo, that is to say the most important city of Brazil (a million inhabitants and more than $80,000,000 in banks). The federal forces, that is, those of British imperialism, sent into this zone 97 per cent of all the armed forces of the Brazilian army, because the revolutionists had made themselves strong in that city. Militarily, the city of Sao Paulo offered magnificent conditions for the defense, and the fact that the federal forces were coming from the Northeast, left the revolutionists with the Southwest open for all sorts of food and supplies, besides the fact that popular sympathy for them provided them with necessities.

Politically, the Revolutionary Military Committee did not have control of a national force that might give them political direction of a governmental form in the towns which they might take. The Communist Party of Brazil, new and as a party of Latin America always tending to proceed "jointly" with the petty bourgeoisie with-

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out recognizing, establishing and clarifying to the proletariat and peasantry what a temporary alliance with the petty bourgeoisie means; this brother party, keeping the traditions of the other parties in the colonies, remained more than in the rear-guard, but in the ultra rearguard, that is to say, disturbing the strategic retreats of the proletariat.

The brother party of Brazil maintained a dependent position, rather than one as a politically independent class force. That is to say, for our brother party, the revolt was nothing more than a permanent alliance with the petty bourgeoisie. At bottom it was something else.

The military council of the petty bourgeoisie decided to abandon Sao Paulo, because it was a crime, according to these "chocolate" soldiers to destroy the "beautiful" city which the forces of the federal government, that is to say, the government of the great coffee planters, were already bombarding. (Behind the revolutionary forces were Henry Ford and the General Electric Company.)

When they abandoned the city, they left with it the $80,000,000 in the name of honor, and in the name of the same "honor" the army went shedding feathers like a moulting rooster, without a cent in the administrative committee; without a popular political force among the mass of disillusioned soldiers. One of the generals, Joao Franscisco, who had to cover the retreat of the revolutionaries, attacked two banks, took $7,000,000 and conducted himself in a sense opposed to the revolutionary forces that he had to cover.

The revolutionists retired from Sao Paulo, delivered the place to the government forces and went to await the enemy in the surroundings of the city of Borges. One morning, while the revolutionary troops slept, patrols were seen approaching the outskirts of the city. Thinking that they were the forces of General Joao Francisco with 5,000 soldiers, they were allowed to advance unchallenged. The federal forces thus took the revolutionists by surprise and cut their army to pieces.

Colonel Luis Carlos Prestes was able to reform his column and went by forced marches toward the woods of Matto Grosso. With him went the few active political and military forces of the Communist Party of Brazil. With him went 7,500 soldiers, workers and peasants altogether.

The petty bourgeois revolution was destroyed for two fundamental reasons: 1) For a political reason, the failure to deliver the city of Sao Paulo to a council of workers, soldiers and sailors that might administer it (the members of the Party in the column of Prestes should have attained this) to the end of obtaining the majority of Sao Paulo; a) there was no political direction that might give

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the masses (of the places the column was taking) the assurance that a fundamental change was being made with respect to the constituted government; b) a lack of independent policy of the Party with respect to the army of the petty bourgeoisie and merciless criticism toward the petty bourgeois revolution; c) a lack in the subjective factor, the Communist Party. The Party, in fact a social democratic party in its acts, was not able to be head of the leadership. (2) A total lack, absolutely, of military strategy, despite the fact that the leaders of the petty bourgeois revolt were military technicians.

It is clear that in all the literature, in all the appeals to the people published by the petty bourgeoisie with the idea of popularizing their movement, a program was lacking, slogans that would have made the movement to adequately be felt as popular were lacking. But when the petty-bourgeoisie declared that it would break up the great coffee plantations and feudal holdings, restore private property to the small proprietors, create new cultivated zones in the west, and give freedom of press, action, and propaganda, although these were not slogans for a revolt, our party should have organized its cadres to lend itself to the defense with the forces which it then reckoned among the proletariat of Rio de Janeiro, Sao Paulo, Santos, Bello Horzonte, and part of Rio Grande do Sul. (It must be remembered that Brazil has 1,140,000 workers and more than 7,000,000 agricultural workers.)

Undoubtedly this movement was revolutionary in the same way as that of the Kuomintang of China in its first moments, which then had the support of the C.I. and the proletariat of the city and country of China. Should we or not have supported that movement? When they had on their banner, "Division of Land, Breaking up of Feudal Holdings, Independence in National Policy;" we Communists in the colonies, could we desert this banner? Certainly this alliance, temporary and independent was not able to last a long time. We could have had two perspectives: One that the revolt might be crushed, as it was, and the other that the movement might develop as a National revolutionary movement of the Mexican type. Before this last perspective, our task was to make it develop more and more as a worker and peasant revolt, really anti-imperialist, and to seize leadership. Undoubtedly, our forces organized in trade-unions would have had to fight against the small proprietors, against the so-called "Industrialists" which are nothing but the few forces of the national bourgeoisie holding unimportant and light industry. The peasants of Matte Larngheiras, great plantations of South America tea, were struggling against their bosses (the principle stockholders of this company were paying the revolutionists whom they

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regard sympathetically because the government had not attained real political unity of Brazil and these revolutionists promised it.) But it is undoubted that in all parts where the revolutionary forces passed, our movement was growing little by little, and it grew rapidly in relation to the places where the government had instituted a regime of persecution and deportation.

It is clear that the above slogans are not sufficient with which to enter an armed movement. The workers followed this movement but were in no condition to impress upon it their class, proletarian seal; the subjective factor, political capacity of the Communist Party, of the vanguard of the Brazilian proletariat was lacking. For this reason our position was in the rear guard. When we awoke we found that Luis Carlos Prestes was leading his column to the distant wilds of Brazil to save and conserve its forces; we lost our influence and contact with the column; the Communist Party was turned by factionalism into a social-democrat or liberal party.

Leonides de Rezende at the head, who is now a Trotskyist, was without perspective of regaining the lost trade-union forces. Really he spoke very little in favor of being in the vanguard. The leading organ of the Comintern in South America was in the hands of Penelon, the Argentine Lovestone who today has "his own party," who never gave concrete and discreet instructions about the Brazilian revolution.

Finally we managed to liquidate all these people; to organize our trade-union center in Brazil (the only one in the country and which counts 120,000 workers, not on paper but in the factories.) Besides this we must reckon with the organization committee of the Landworkers Federation; two members in the Rio de Janeiro city council; a party with more than 5,000 active members distributed among and with influence in almost all the states of Brazil; five trade-union papers, though working in semi-illegality; and that which is important at present, with the letter of General Luis Carlos Prestes.

3. The letter of General Prestes.

What says the thesis of Lenin approved at the Second Congress of the C. I., about the colonial question? It is there clearly said that when in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, in the countries of backward economy, when there develops a revolutionary movement of national character against foreign imperialism, and the bourgeoisie has in it an active function of open struggle against the capitalism of foreign countries, the working class must support this movement. The working class must take part in it and gain direction of it. (J.R.P., captain, and secretary of General Isidoro Diaz, and chief of the general staff of the revolutionary Military Council, today an

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active member of the Party told me in P. A. that the General Electric Co. (Yankee) had offered them $40,000,000 for five thousand hectares of land, whose value was no more than $20,000, located at the Cataracts of Iguazu—according to the geography these rank with Niagara Falls as the greatest in the world—and that the revolutionists *could use this land until they would win out.* He also told me that the military chiefs of the revolt refused the offer as insulting and answered the General Electric Co., that they were fighting to give Brazil to the Brazilians.)

In the book concerning the Brazilian revolution which this comrade was writing, there stood out a tropical romantic concept of latent revolutionism which has clarified to us the technical conditions that brought about its failure. In armed revolts and within them, political slogans and concrete instructions are not enough; it is necessary to have sufficient tacticians in order to know how, and to be able to attack the weak points of the enemy; to gain the first victories in order to demoralize the enemy forces among the popular mass.

For two years the column of Prestes crossed Brazil, from one extreme to the other of the republic, without being conquered. The slogans of this general already were most concrete: "Freedom for the peons of the coffee plantations," "wage increases," "legality of all political parties" (referring to the Communist Party), etc. But the Communist Party gave him its support in such a manner that it was amalgamated with him, miserably confusing the tasks of the petty bourgeoisie with those of the Communist Party.

Thus came the elections of March, 1930. For this event there was formed a group of liberals (headed as we said before, by those from the state of Minas Geraes—Yankee imperialism) of the parties of all the states. This alliance of Liberal parties challenged the governing Conservative party, which had nominated the lawyer Julio Prestes, governor of the state of Sao Paulo, as candidate for the presidency; today he is President-elect.

The Liberals nominated Getulio Vargas and Jose Pessoa, the latter a brother of the president who in 1918 helped inaugurate American imperialist policy in Brazil. The first was from Minas Geraes; the second, now assassinated, was from Parahyba. The Communists broke from them, but were not sufficiently energetic in its later campaign. The horizon was filled with storm clouds; constantly there was the threat to solve the problem of presidential succession with armed revolt. On its part the government fortified itself, changing battalions, regiments and commanders who were suspected, to other places and posts. Forts were dismantled in sectors where the Liberals had some force. Meanwhile, the Coffee Exchange of

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Brazil, especially that of Sao Paulo, declared itself unable to solve the coffee crisis of "excess of production" without markets. Julio Prestes triumphed and the revolt which the Liberal Alliance had announced did not appear.

Brazilian coffee represents about seventy per cent of foreign exports. Of the $1,500,000,000 that constitutes the total banking movement of Brazil, $740,000,000 corresponds to the banking business of Sao Paulo (concentrated in only one state) and the economy of this state depends on the Bank of London, whose branches in Santos and Sao Paulo City, handle all the state's banking operations. In this state of Sao Paulo alone there are 200,000 unemployed in a population of 3,000,000 inhabitants. Sao Paulo produces 1,162,860 tons of coffee; the total of all Brazil is 1,740,000 tons; the world production of 1929 was 2,500,000 tons. The value of all the coffee production of Sao Paulo has been estimated at $222,979,648. Last year the total of Brazilian exports were $661,161,666, while in the first six months of this year exports were reduced to $200,000,000. And one must remember that Brazil's exports are larger in the first months of the year than in the latter half. In the figures for June and July a falling off is already shown.

Brazil produces rubber; better said, this Brazilian rubber is Henry Ford's. Upon every thousand tons of rubber, Ford pays Brazil one dollar. Real slaves gather this rubber in the unhealthiest regions of America and possibly of the world. Yellow fever, typhus, pellagra, malaria, leprosy, are among the plagues that strike down the naked and starving army of Henry Ford in the tributaries of the implacable Amazon.

Not yet has there come to this place the organized army of the proletariat, neither the Communist Party nor the trade unions. This task the Party must carry out. Ford, however, has not escaped wholly. Five months ago 2,500 wokers of the Ford rubber plantations arose in arms and fought alone, without leadership, against the imperialist enterprise.

Brazil has more than 900,000 unemployed. There are no national statistics, but by those of Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro one may estimate this figure as a minimum. All sectors of the national economy are shattered. A national crisis grips all Brazil, especially aggravated since the election of March, 1930. Starvation haunts the most vital and densely populated regions.

It is confronting this situation that General Luis Carlos Prestes, after the March, 1930 presidential elections in which British imperialism triumphed, has issued an open letter to the column he led. What says Prestes in this open letter?

He says: "To the suffering proletariat of our cities, to the op-

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pressed toilers of the 'facendas' (ranches) and plantations, to the miserable starving masses of our countryside, and especially to the sincere revolutionists, to those disposed to struggle" . . . "there was no one, in the Liberal Alliance, who during the last electoral campaign, would so much as protest against the brutal police persecution which victimized the proletarian organizations of the whole country. . . ." He continues, analyzing the general situation and self-criticizes the previous struggle: "We remained silent before all these facts, sacrificing the moral prestige of the revolution, believing always in the miracle that the outcome of an armed struggle between the two conflicting currents might be that, between the two, perhaps a third would appear which really would satisfy the great needs of the people, pauperized, sacrificed and oppressed by a half dozen feudal senores who, proprietors of the land and of the means of production, judge themselves the elite, able to rule an illiterate and destroyed people—according to their own opinion. . . ." "All kinds of error were committed, and we must publicly clean it out, attaining full clarity and without fear of any kind, to find the real road to follow to carry forward the revolutionary banner that today, more than ever, we must sustain."

He criticizes in the letter the action of the agents of Yankee imperialism in Brazil, saying of them: "The Brazilian revolution cannot be carried out with the anodyne program of the Liberal Alliance. A simple change of men, the secret vote, promises of electoral liberty, administrative honesty, respect for the constitution, stable money and other panaceas, by no means interest the majority of the population without whose aid any revolution which might be made will have the character of a simple fight between dominant oligarchies." "Our blows must be directed against the two strongest points that support economically the present oligarchies; against the great landed property and against Anglo-American imperialism. These are the two fundamental causes of political oppression in which we live and of the successive economic crises from which we suffer." "We live under the direct yoke of the bankers of London and New York." "All our resources depend upon English or American capitalism in whose power are also the most important public services, transport and industry in general. The latifundias themselves are passing into the hands of foreign capitalism."

Analyzing the world economic and political situation, Luis Carlos Prestes says: "The international situation is, on its part, filled with great difficulties for the capitalisms that dominate us, difficulties that are linked to the most serious problems of internal order, such as the unemployment of great masses of starving people of city and

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country." "The real fight for national independence must, therefore, be against the great senores of the land, against the imperialisms, and only can be able to be carried out by the national armed insurrection of all the toilers. To sustain the demands of the revolution that we propose, the only revolution that we judge useful for national interests, the new government must arise out of the real toiling masses of city and field."

As a consequence of this letter of Prestes, the Liberal Alliance has definitely broken with the chief of the Prestes Column. The letter of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Brazil attacks the Prestes Column because the officers of this Column, instigated by the Liberal Alliance, have named Juarez Tavora as new chief of the Prestes Column. About 4,000 are said to still follow Prestes.

We finish with the letter of Prestes and take up the letter of the presidium of the Communist Party, published concerning the Prestes letter. In one of its paragraphs it says, "The fact requires no search, but it is due to the fact that the Prestes column never had a real and clear revolutionary program, never knew how to link its fight to the fight of the workers and peasants for the vital demands of these latter, and also to the fact that it represents the petty bourgeoisie of the cities that vacillates between the bourgeoisie and the masses, between the revolution and the reaction."

Our brother Party of Brazil underestimates its own role when it says, ". . . never had a real and clear program" and when it affirms that it (the Prestes column) never knew how to link its fight to that of the workers and peasants for their vital demands. This is more evident when it is added that the Column represents the petty bourgeoisie. The petty bourgeoisie is that which knows not how to link up anything because it is, properly speaking, not a class, but an inter-class, limited by the positions of the national bourgeoisie, by imperialism, despoiled by it, and either proletarianized or made into the governing bourgeoisie when it takes power; but in the struggle itself it is unable to lead, except perhaps technically, the revolution. From the moment in which the national revolutionary class passes to the taking of power, it ceases being such to transform itself into a national reformist class.

And further on, the letter of the presidium of our Brother Party of Brazil says, "And this revolution only can be realized by the worker and peasant masses, by the revolutionary alliance of workers and peasants under the leadership of the proletariat." If it had said: And this revolution can only be realized by the workers, revolutionary soldiers and peasant masses under the political leadership of the Communist Party of Brazil, the resolution of the presidium would have been more realistic and would differentiate itself more seriously

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from the letter of Prestes, which says, "Only a government of the toilers based on councils (that is to say, Soviets, we must say.—A. G.) of toilers of the city and country, soldiers and sailors, can carry out this program."

The Party puts the question of who will lead the revolution. This question is somewhat beside the point; it must be demonstrated to the workers by taking away hegemony from the petty bourgeoisie. But an important part of the letter of our Brother Party is in this paragraph: "Each revolutionary action of Luis Carlos Prestes for realization of his program will be actively supported by the Communist Party."

Undoubtedly, before this new aspect of the real situation in Brazil, problems of fundamental importance in its political life are planted before our brother Party. It must profit from the experience of the Chinese revolution, of Chiang Kai-shek, of Calles and Obregon, of Sandino perhaps, in order to show that it is the vanguard of the proletariat. The masses will follow the Party to the measure that it, passing through action, learns how to take up a correct position before the petty bourgeoisie in revolutionary action. But it is not required that the Party let itself be dragged by the petty bourgeoisie in order to aid it.

Not only must the Communist Party support this movement but it must enter into a united front with it to attain the leadership. Prestes is popular and is believed a hero from the fact of having maintained his column during more than two years without suffering even one defeat. Indeed his column is known as the Invincible Column. While such a section of the petty bourgeoisie of Brazil follows an open fight of insurrectional character against foreign capitalism, against imperialism and its native allies; during all this stage the proletariat must support these movements of national revolutionary character.

If this alliance and this revolutionary acceleration is not produced on the part of the cadres of the Party, we run the danger that while the movement develops we remain isolated from it, we will not have entered into the popular current of revolt against imperialism, against the feudalists, against reaction and against the militarists, and it will then be impossible to exercise upon it a decisive influence, an influence determined by the heat of struggle which must carry us to complete control of the struggle.

We are able to exercise that influence. The subjective conditions are much better in Brazil in 1930 than in Mexico in 1925-1927, and in ways better than in China from 1926 to 1929. There is a Party with masses, with trade union control. If we do not have the

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majority plus one, which "socialists" claim, we have the best worker elements of Brazil. Our Party has liquidated the opportunism that was corroding its ideological formation; perhaps there is a tendency here and there of opportunism, but not sufficiently dangerous to liquidate the Party in such a movement. If now we do not take leadership of the movement, if now the Party does not prepare the masses for raising the banner of revolution, we will fall in prestige with the masses; they will say of us, "revolutionary chatter-boxes"; they will repudiate us.

Our Party must combat with continued and renewed energy the sectors of the petty bourgeoisie with which it has made its alliance; to create in the bosom of the forces of Prestes its own forces, the points of support which permit us to exercise in the decisive moment a decisive influence. Our brother Party must know how to evaluate the disposition of forces in order that then they might be favorable for us. When the poorest strata of the petty bourgeoisie with Prestes at the head pass to the camp of counter-revolution, we must have all the posts taken for retaining the leadership. We must struggle for the organization of the councils of cities, such as Prestes promises in his letter, ruled by workers, peasants, soldiers and sailors.

Most of all we must build our own movement. We must establish our hegemony by consistent organization work, by building up broad mass organizations under our leadership, by carrying out the strategy and tactics of the united front from below, by carrying on the every-day struggles for the immediate and partial demands which express the burning elemental needs of the masses, of the Negroes of the coffee plantations, the "mensu" of the estates of Matte Larngheiras, the Indians of the rubber "siringas" of the Amazons, the slaves of the sugar "usinas," the textile workers, and the 120,000 workers who make up the General Confederation of Labor.

There have been workers of the factories of Matte Larngheiras, unorganized, who have called the Party to lead the struggle, promising the Party that if it did not do so, they would enter the struggle without it. While Penelon was at the head of the South American Secretariat of the C. I., the Parties of that sector of the International were occupying unfailing, the position of indecent rearguards. These elements have been liquidated.

If we do not come forward decisively as the real leaders of these masses now, we will be unworthy of calling ourselves the vanguard of the proletariat; we will have demonstrated that our Party finds itself incapable for any mass movement, that we are deprived of a strong ideological tradition, capable of standing the hardest proofs to which capitalism subjects us; we will have demonstrated circum-

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stantial incapacity to struggle against the bourgeoisie; we will have put ourselves on the same plane as the social democrats of other times.

We deal with a sector of the world revolution that cannot be crushed notwithstanding all the forces of international capitalism and its native allies. Meanwhile, we workers of the metropolis must offer the comrades of Brazil the guarantee of our internal struggles against Yankee imperialism, as a force, as a class, in view of the fact that the Brazilian revolution is our own revolution; in view of the fact that the Brazilian movement signifies much to the perspectives of our own movement.

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Some Clarifications on the Lessons of the American Revolution

By J. MO

IN the July issue of THE COMMUNIST there appeared an article by Comrade Gordon entitled *Lessons of the American Revolution.* It is so misleading that clarification is of extreme necessity.

The title itself suggests its subtle nature. It needs careful formulation and proper emphasis in order to be of revolutionary value in this historic epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution.

But how did Comrade Gordon go ahead with this important task? The gist of his article amounts to this: that the American Revolution offers a lesson of "extreme importance" because, as he says, "The revolutionary movement of today, led by the Communist Party, finds itself in several situations analogous to those in which the colonial bourgeois revolutionary movement was. . . ." Therefore, the Communist Party should, or rather, must, learn the strategy and tactics from the American "revolutionary fathers." The strategy and tactics are: well-knit and disciplined organizations, violent action, extra-legal organizations, etc.

The general tone of the article is misleading. It extols the charms of moribund bourgeois methods. It sings in praise of American forefathers and stresses the necessity of "taking over" their "methods" of struggle. So, on the one hand, it overestimates the undue importance of the lessons of the American Revolution, and on the other, underestimates the profund importance of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics in this historic epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution. It over-emphasizes the apparent similarities of the American Revolution to the proletarian revolution and fails to bring out in bold relief their historic peculiarities which necessitate the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution fundamentally different from those of the bourgeois revolution.

In passing it is also interesting to note that when speaking of "the very important slogans of freedom and rights of man" of the American bourgeoisie, what Comrade Gordon evidently feels about them is, that he regrets the American bourgeoisie did not

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keep their word. He is never bold enough to reveal the Leninist truth that:

> "Bourgeois democracy, while constituting a great historic advance in comparison with feudalism, nevertheless remains, and can not but remain, a very limited, a very hypocritical institution, a paradise for the rich and a trap and a delusion for the exploited and for the poor." (Lenin: Proletarian Revolution, p. 28.)

But the most serious error committed by Comrade Gordon is his advocation of the application of the lessons of the American Revolution. "Even a school child could suggest some means that a proletarian party might use in order to spread its views," he says. This is the way he talks about strategy and tactics. This non-Marxist attitude towards this important question necessarily gives rise to deviations.

First, Comrade Gordon repeatedly recommends the "taking over" of the methods used by the American bourgeoisie. This mechanical taking over is itself a serious blunder. Besides, he speaks of bourgeois methods in grand totality, in pure abstraction, without regard to their social content and internal structure. Turning his head from the twentieth century to the eighteenth, he feverishly sponsors the "taking over" of the methods of the bourgeois American Revolution. He praises the violent measures of the Committees of Correspondence, Inspection, Intelligence and Safety. But does he know what sort of violence they used? They used all sorts of terrorism and typically bourgeois humorous violence. Does Comrade Gordon think we should take over this? Certainly not.

Second, Comrade Gordon not only speaks of strategy and tactics in vague totality and pure abstraction, but he fatally fails to understand the peculiarities of this particular moment and their relationship to the construction of strategy and tactics.

In determining our strategy and tactics we must have, as Lenin said, "the most exact, objective analysis of the relation of classes and concrete peculiarities of each historic moment." In the Program of the Communist International, we have also the same Leninist line:

> "In determining the line of tactics, each Communist Party must take into account the concrete internal and external situation, the correlation of class forces, the degree of stability and strength of the bourgeoisie, the degree of preparedness of the proletariat, the position taken by the various intermediatary strata in its country, etc. The party determines its slogans and methods of struggle in accordance with the view to organizing and mobilizing the masses on the broadest possible scale and on the highest possible level of this struggle."

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Comrade Gordon obviously does not know about this. He shows his naivete by recommending the methods of the American Revolution of 1776 to the Communist Party of today. He says:

> "The revolutionary movement of today, led by the Communist Party, finds itself in several situations analagous to those in which the colonial revolutionary movement was."

Here is his way of estimating historical analogy. Here is his evaluation of the particular historic moment of today. Following this false premise, he wants the leaders of the proletariat to "take over" the methods of the American Revolution of 1776. He fails to count the peculiarities of this particular historic moment and commits the error of infantile sickness.

In the vein of his article there runs throughout the eulogy of the methods employed by the bourgeoisie and, by doing this, he suggests that we should do the same. Besides hammering abstractly on violence, on extra-legal organizations, he quotes Governor Thomas Hutchinson of Massachusetts, who wrote to England as follows:

> "I had the fullest evidence of a plan to engage the colonies in a confederation against the authority of Parliament. The towns of this province were to begin, the assembly to confirm their doings and to invite other colonies to join.

This letter meant that the colonies were to engage in open conspiracy against Parliament. It was a correct method during that historic moment. But do we have the "analogous" revolutionary situation now? Does Comrade Gordon know that the Communist Party is carrying on the election campaign, and why?

Third, in constructing our strategy and tactics, it is imperatively necessary to have an evaluation of the experiences and traditions of the revolutionary movements "internationally and not on national lines." Lenin gave us the surest guide when he said:

> "Tactics should be constructed on a sober and strictly objective consideration of the forces of a given country (and the countries around it, and of all countries on a world scale), as well as an evaluation of the experience of other revolutionary movements." (Left Communism, p. 45.)

While writing on a topic such as the lessons of the American Revolution, in order to be of any theoretical and practical value, one should never fail to emphasize the importance of learning from the experiences of other countries. Especially during this epoch of proletarian revolution, we must learn from the experience of the

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English Chartists, the French and German insurrections of 1831, the Revolution of 1848, the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution of 1905, the German, Hungarian and Finnish Revolutions after the war, the Canton Commune and, above all, the Russian Revolution of 1917.

Comrade Gordon, emerging from turning the pages of his history textbooks, evidently does not see this necessity. Otherwise, he would have devoted at least a few sentences or a short paragraph to bring out this important point. Instead, he shouts at the top of his voice to the Daughters of the American Revolution that: "The heritage of the American Revolution rightfully belongs to the vanguard of the revolutionary movement today, the Communist Party." "Only the proletariat can lay claim to the legacy of the American Revolution." "We . . . heartily congratulate such correctness of tactics and boldness of action." Etc., etc.

In this period of general economic crisis throughout the entire capitalist world, of sharpening war danger, of development of fascism, of rising revolutionary waves in the colonies and the semi-colonies, of the successful socialist construction in the Soviet Union, the international proletarian revolutionary movement must adopt strategy and tactics fundamentally different from the American Revolution of 1776.

To be sure, Comrade Gordon makes some casual remark about Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. But the way he puts it serves to show more clearly how crazily enthusiastic he is about the methods of the moribund American bourgeoisie and how boldly but blindly he subordinates the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics to the methods of the bourgeoisie. Here is what he says:

> "This necessitates not only the methods employed by the Revolutionary fathers, but also the application of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution in the epoch of imperialism."

This unmistakably means that he thinks the methods of the bourgeois class are of "extreme importance" in comparison with the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics. So the latter is only "also" necessary as a supplement to the former.

Here Comrade Gordon really tells us to use strategy and tactics other than the Marxist-Leninist. When he says that we should "also" employ the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics, logically, he means that we must use the methods which are not within the connotation of the Marxist-Leninist. This is more than sufficient to demonstrate how much he knows about the strategy and tactics of the proletarian revolution.

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There can be no objection to the idea that we should learn from the American Revolution. Nor can there be any objection to the conception that we should write on such topics. These are necessary. We must learn from the lessons of revolutionary movements in different epochs and different countries.

But what to learn and how to write? This is the question that is really concerning us. This is the question that we must bear in mind when we want to learn from other revolutionary movements. Comrade Gordon certainly does not take this question seriously and does not yet know what to learn and how to write. Maybe his intention is good and his conscience not guilty. But his intended picture of a tiger turns out to be a dog.

The very root of his deviations must be traced to his failure to grasp the law of dialectic materialism—he plunges himself into the whirlpool of mechanical and superficial historic parallelism.

If Comrade Gordon understood Marx better, he would have written his article in a different vein. Marx, in his historical and other writings, never failed to emphasize the historical differences of various epochs and stages of history. In his celebrated book, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, the very first two sentences are:

> "Hegel says somewhere that, upon the stage of universal history, all great events and personalities reappear in one fashion or another. He forgot to add: on the first, they appear as tragedy; on the second, as farce."

Again, in his preface to the first German reprint of the same work, Marx said:

> "So extensive are the differences between the material, economic, conditions of the class war in classical and in modern times, that *the political incidents born out of the struggle in one epoch and the other can have no more resemblance to one another than the Archbishop of Canterbury has to the High Priest Samuel.*" (My emphasis, J. M.)

This difference must be dialectically interpreted in order to understand the differences of the struggles in the epoch of the bourgeois revolution and in the epoch of the proletarian revolution. So in writing on the lessons of the American Revolution, we must emphasize its differences from, rather than its apparent similarities to, the present international proletarian revolutionary movement. This does not mean that we should do this artificially, but that history itself is such.

What did Comrade Gordon do? He did just the opposite. He sings praises to the "revolutionary forefathers" so lavishly that he

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emphasizes the apparent similarities and neglects the differences between the American Revolution and the present proletarian revolutionary movement in this country. His article, as a result, is not to embellish the new struggle, but to parody the old; not to rediscover the spirit of revolution, but to make the ghost dance.

Having failed to get hold of the universal law of dialectical materialism, Comrade Gordon naturally has only superficial understanding of the differences between the bourgeois and the proletarian revolutions in their tasks and therefore in their strategy and tactics. Here he needs some more enlightenment from Marx:

> "The social revolution of the nineteenth century cannot draw its figurative embellishments from the past; it must create them anew out of the future. It cannot begin its work until it has rid itself of all the ancient superstititions. Earlier revolutions had need of the reminiscences of historic pageantry, for thus only could they bemuse themselves as to their own significance. The revolution of the nineteenth century must let the dead bury their dead, for thus only can it discover its own true meaning." (The Eighteenth Brumaire. Page 26.)

Again:

> "Bourgeois revolutions, like those of the eighteenth century, speed from success to success; they vie with one another in the lustre of their stage effects; men and things seem to be set in sparkling brilliants; every day is filled with ecstasy; but they are short lived; their climax is soon reached; on the morning after, society has to pass through a long fit of slumps; and only when that is over can there be a dispassionate assimilation of the achievements of the period of storm and stress. Proletarian revolutions, on the other hand, like those of the nineteenth century, are ever self-citical, they again and again stop short in their progress; retrace their steps in order to make a fresh start; are pitilessly scornful of the half-measures, the weakness, the futility of their preliminary essays. It seems as if they had overthrown their adversaries only in order that these might draw renewed strength from contact with the earth and return to the battle like giants refreshed. Again and again, they shrink back appalled before the vague immensity of their own aims. But, at long last, a situation is reached whence retreat is impossible, and where the circumstances clamor in chorus: Here is the Rose; dance here!" (Ibid, page 28.)

These two passages are so clear that further explanation on the differences between the bourgeois revolution and the proletarian in tasks and in strategy and tactics is superfluous. But what did Comrade Gordon tell us? Again, just the opposite. He said, as has been referred to above, that the revolutionary movement of today has "several situations" "analogous" to those of the American Revo-

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lution and that we must learn the methods "of extreme importance" from the "revolutionary fathers." These methods, he thinks, are of such "extreme importance" that the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics are only "also" necessary as supplements.

In short, what Comrade Gordon should have done is, to emphasize the following themes: Although there are apparent similarities between the American Revolution of 1776 to the present proletarian revolutionary movement in this country, they are fundamentally different in class content, in tasks, and therefore, in strategy and tactics. We can not take over mechanically the methods used by the American bourgeoisie. In the field of strategy and tactics we have little to learn from the American Revolution. We have much to learn from the international proletarian revolutionary movements, especially from the Russian Revolution of 1917. In constructing our methods and forms of struggle, we must take into account the peculiarities of this particular historical moment. Today, in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, we must employ the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics for the dictatorship of the proletariat as determined by the Communist International and the Communist Party of the U. S. A.

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BOOKS

FROM THE LIFE OF THE GREAT PROLETARIAN LEADER

Memories of Lenin, NADEZHDA KRUPSKAYA. International Publishers, 1930. $1.50.

Reviewed by I. AMTER

Information about the life of the great leader of the Proletarian Revolution, Lenin, is always welcome. This man, who stands as the leader in this period of Revolution, and whose ability also as a statesman is admitted by capitalist writers, revealed methods of thought and action that should be studied by all revolutionary workers and working class leaders.

How different from the life of a Trotsky who sees the revolution, and consequently the working class, identified with *himself*; who sees in *himself* the compendium of the development and records of history; to whom the personal pronoun "I" is the first and last letter of the alphabet!

No one is better able to give us the intimate facts on the life of Lenin than Krupskaya, his wife and co-worker for a period of thirty years. These were the years of preparation of the workers and peasants and of carrying out the Revolution in the weakest link in the imperialist chain, Russia, in the establishment of the Communist International, and the spread of the Revolutionary movement throughout the world.

Lenin did not live to see and participate in the application of the Five-Year Plan of building up Socialism in the Soviet Union. He did not live to the day when the Socialist sector in industry and agriculture predominated. But his best pupils, led by Stalin, are carrying on under Lenin's banner against the "lefts" with Trotsky at their head and against the rights led by Bucharin. These opposition groups have not only failed to receive the support of the Communist Party and the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union, but in 1930 had to see (though they have not as a whole admitted) the Soviet industry and collective and State farms develop with such phenomenal speed that the whole capitalist world, which is in a crisis, gazes in astonishment, fear and hate. And yet the policy and general lines for the building up of Socialism were laid down by Lenin several years before.

Krupskaya's little book, which has been ably translated by Eric Verney, does not deal with the whole period up to Lenin's death, but only up to 1907. (It is announced that a second volume will follow.) Every student of Leninism and every sympathizer of the Soviet Union, and every one interested in the life of the great revolutionary leader, Lenin, should not fail to read this volume.

For the student of Communism and of revolutionary history, the book emphasizes some important factors and gives an insight into the life of Lenin. For instance, it has been stated that Lenin did not like or indulge in reading fiction. Krupskaya declares that this is not true, that he frequently read Russian classics and was very fond of Chernyshevsky. He was especially fond of Jack London's stories, and only two days before his death, had Krupskaya read to him London's *Love of Life*.

Some factors in the revolutionary movement Krupskaya's book emphasizes, on the basis of conversations and discussions which took place privately,

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in committees and at conferences and conventions of the Russian Social-Democratic Labor Party—the Bolshevik part of which developed into the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Lenin (as also Krupskaya) listened closely to the demands and needs of the masses for the purpose of laying down a correct line of stratey; he had the conviction that the poor peasants must be united, in the struggle against capitalism, with the workers, as opposed to the menshevik's point of view that the workers and peasants are opposed to each other; Lenin had a firm faith in the masses and he insisted that they be in the leadership of the Party in predominant numbers; he emphasized the need not only of a centralized Party, but a Party of action and not of "eternal discussion" (something that the intellectuals always like to engage in.)

These ideas Lenin laid down early in his revolutionary work after having studied Marx and Engels well, and he continued to hammer away at them after the successful Revolution of 1917 and the establishment of the Communist International.

Thus both Lenin and Krupskaya in 1894 conducted a night and Sunday school in St. Petersburg and through conversations with their adult working-class students learned what their grievances were, what their methods were, the situation in the industries—exploitation, willingness to fight, trustworthiness of workers in the shops to build up groups of the Party in the shop, etc. Innumerable *contacts* were obtained in this manner, which became the center of revolutionary activity before and after the Revolution of 1905. Lenin would talk to the workers and to the peasants whom he met or who were delegated to see him when he was living in secrecy because of police persecution. From them he obtained the slogan "*All land to the peasants*"—a demand that the oppressed peasants instinctively put forward as a primary need.

From this, despite Kautsky's authority at that time in the revolutionary movement and his opinion that the revolutionary workers had no interest in peasant problems and should "remain neutral," Lenin and the Bolsheviks put forward the idea of a united struggle of workers and poor peasants against capitalism.

Lenin had implicit faith in the revolutionary will, devotion and ability of the masses. "In combatting the conception of the old revolutionaries," says Krupskaya, "he (Lenin) had learnt to counterpose the heroism of individual militants by the *power and heroism of class struggles*." Or again, "The workers have a class instinct," said Lenin, "and even with little political experience they quite quickly become steadfast Social-democrats (now Communists. I. A.) *I would very much like to see eight workers on our committees for every two intellectuals*." (Emphasis mine. I. A.)

The necessity of a centralized Party became clear when the Bund (organization of Jewish revolutionary workers) refused to join the Party but was willing to cooperate in revolutionary actions. The bane of a party composed of national groups was long felt by the Communist Party of the United States, this obstacle to real centralization and uniform work at last being removed by the Comintern.

Lenin's views on other matters are interesting and important. Being forced for a time to print their newspapers and pamphlets abroad, because of persecution, the Russian revolutionists did not fail to take advantage of every situation that would enable them to print them in Russia. Sometimes these papers would "last" not more than one or two editions; when suppressed, a paper bearing a different name immediately appeared. All hindrances had

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to be overcome for the sake of the Revolution! When the situation changed and when work was possible, every kind of organization was formed; and yet even in the days of the worst oppression the Communists found methods of doing open work, just as they are doing today in countries with fascist and reactionary governments.

Lenin's opinions on other questions might well be heeded by revolutionists today.

Thus on *simplicity*, Lenin believed that "*Communism must be made accessible and comprehensible to the masses as their own cause.* Popular speeches and popular literature should have a *concrete* object, one which *urges to definite action.* The political idea developed in a popular speech should be succinct and clear in its meaning. *No vulgarization, oversimplification, or departure from objectivity is permissible.* The exposition should be planned in a lucid manner, should help the listener or reader himself to draw the conclusions, and only sum up and fomulate these conclusions." Or again, "There exists among the broad masses a haze of misunderstandings, a complete lack of comprehension of our position. We must therefore speak as popularly as possible. . . . *In speaking before the masses, we must provide concrete replies.*" (Emphasis mine. I. A.)

On accuracy: "*Lenin never cited facts from memory, approximately*, but always gave them with the *greatest accuracy.* He looked through piles of material, but whatever he wanted to remember he wrote down in his notebooks. . . . He did not foist anything on the workers, but proved his con*of the universal Communist army.*" (Emphasis is mine. I. A.)

On authorities: "The working class leading a difficult and stubborn world-wide fight for complete emancipation, needs authorities, but it stands to reason, only in the sense that *every young worker needs the experience of the old fighters* against oppression and exploitation. *He needs the experience of those who have been through manifold strikes, who have participated in the ranks of the Revolution,* who have become learned in revolutionary traditions and a *wide political vision. The authority of the world wide proletarian struggles is needed by us in order to elucidate the program and tactics of our Party. Our authority is the authority of the many-sided struggle in the ranks of the universal Communist Army.*" (Emphasis is mine.—I. A.)

It is interesting to note what Lenin said about Trotsky. When Trotsky first went to London to meet Lenin in the latter part of 1902, Lenin took quite a fancy to him and he was considered Lenin's pupil. He was later dubbed "Lenin's cudgel" and Krupskaya says, "Lenin thought he would never waver." However, when in September 1905, Lenin wrote to a comrade who informed him that they were printing a Trotsky leaflet, he said: "They are printing Trotsky's leaflets . . . dear me . . . there's nothing wrong in that, *provided the leaflets are tolerable and have been corrected!*" This is characteristic of the lack of confidence that Lenin had in Trotsky's political judgment as far back as 1905.

Lenin's opinion of Father Gapon, who led the workers to massacre before the Tsar's palace in December, 1905: Gapon made a special trip to Geneva to consult Lenin. According to Krupskaya, Lenin considered Gapon "a living part of the Revolution that was sweeping Russia." He was closely bound up with the working masses who devotedly believed in him. On February 8, Lenin wrote in "Vperiod," the revolutionary paper: "We hope George Gapon, who has experienced and felt so profoundly the transition from the opinions of a politically unconscious people to revolutionary views, will succeed in

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working to obtain the clarity of revolutionary outlook necessary for a political leader." Although brought up to be a priest, Gapon was moved by the revolutionary movement. Vereshchagin, the artist, tried to persuade him to give up the priesthood, but he did not want to offend his father. "He did not know how to learn," says Krupskaya. "After he returned to Russia he slid into the abyss."

Finally Lenin's attitude on Party Conventions, at all of which he took a leading part! In reply to a comrade who deplored the "fierce fighting," this agitation one against the other, these sharp polemics, this uncomradely attitude, he replied: "What a fine thing our Party Congress is. *Opportunity for open fighting. Opinions expressed. Tendencies revealed. Groups defined. Hands raised. A decision taken. A stage passed through. Forward!* That's what I like! That's life! It is something different from the *endless, wearying intellectual discussions, which finish not because people have solved the problem, but simply because they have tired of talking.*" (Emphasis mine. I. A.)

This was characteristic of the great Bolshevik, Vladimir Ilyich known all over the world as Lenin. Thus acts a Bolshevik—thus acts the revolutionary Bolshevik (Communist) Party.

HOW THE NEW BECOMES OLD

Soviet Russia—A Living Record and a History. By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLAIN. Little Brown: Boston, 1930, 525 pp. $5.00.
Reviewed by I. AMTER.

In writing his book "*Soviet Russia—a Living Record and a History*" in September, 1929, William H. Chamberlain, not being a Communist, not being able to analyze capitalism in a Marxian, Leninist manner, not seeing the factors that already were making for a crisis in his home country, the United States, the stronghold of capitalism, the land of Hoover's "prosperity" and of a "high standard of living," could not properly estimate the achievements of the Soviet Union and what these achievements and the crisis mean to the Proletarian Revolution all over the world. In what he calls his "honest effort at understanding" the Russian Revolution—and Chamberlain has made an honest effort, from the viewpoint of a liberal—he made many serious mistakes: (1) He underestimated the strength of the workers and peasants of the Soviet Union; (2) He overestimated the strength of capitalism; (3) He did not see the revolutionary forces in the colonies; (4) He fails to understand the Proletarian Dictatorship and how it becomes ever more necessary for the Revolution at a time of world capitalist crisis, when imperialism seeks its way out of the crisis thru war—and inevitably one against the Soviet Union.

Chamberlain is in error when he asserts that "Western educated Communists are most apt to become implicated in Trotskyist and similar heresies and to kick over the traces of Party discipline." The Proletarian Revolutionary movements are not as Chamberlain says, "dependent on Russia for everything . . . (even) to the ideological excuse for their existence." The Revolution in Germany, Poland and America arises out of world conditions accentuated by economic and political conditions in each particular country. With a Bolshevik Party in Germany in 1918, in Italy in 1920, in Hungary in 1919, there would have been Proletarian Revolutions and Soviet Governments today—just as in China the Soviet Government with its Red Armies is now sweeping forward. True, the Russian Revolution exercises a tremendous political and economic influence on the world policies and is one of the most powerful

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ideological factors in winning workers for the Revolution. But Chamberlain's statement is an accusation of *deliberate national chauvinism* on the part of the Russia Communists, whereas in his book he emphasizes that Lenin and the Communists manifest no national chauvinism.

Chamberlain makes such statements because he cannot understand the nature of world imperialism, of the World Proletarian Revolution ("For the program of the International, adopted by its Sixth Cngress, is nothing but a universalization of the Russian Revolution, an attempt to apply all over the world, with minor variations for individual national peculiarities, the methods and tactics of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution.") *The methods and tactics of the Russian Bolshevik Revolution were laid down in theory and experience by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels and by the Paris Commune.* They were hammered into a form theoretically and practically adapted to the period of imperialism, of the world war and the immediate situation in Russia by Lenin and the Communist Party. With its tremendous experience and revolutionary leadership, the Russian Communist Party is in a position to aid and to guide the other Parties—and the history of the Communist International has proven that this guidance has been correct.

This criticism of Chamberlain is justified by his own statement that altho Lenin was not nationalistic—still "Lenin's prescience had its limits and, broadly speaking, they were nationalist limits. . . . He proclaimed again and again that the war must produce as its immediate aftermath other successful socialist revolutions." There was *no* nationalism in Lenin, but he foresaw as Marx foresaw, that the Proletarian Revolution would break out where capitalism in a crisis was weakest. This was Russia; nevertheless the *objective* conditions in other countries were ripe for the Revolution and if the *subjective* factor had been present in well disciplined Communist Parties, actively functioning, organizing and mobilizing, more Soviet Governments would be in existence today. But in the period of Revolution, thirteen years are a very short time and Germany, Poland, China, India today demonstrate that Lenin's prescience was *international* in scope. The deep crisis in the United States gives the lie to Chamberlain's statement that "There is no country where communism seems less likely to play a significant role in the *predictable future* in America." (Emphasis ours—I. A.)

In this struggle does the Communist Party speak for the workers and poor peasants; and does Stalin, not as Chamberlain says, "cloak himself with the formidable authority of the Party," but, *really* speak for the Party and the interests of the working class, as Lenin spoke before him? Chamberlain says there are no lengthy biographies of Communist leaders and the tendency is to identify them with the masses—dress, manners, habits, limitations of income, privileges, etc. The Communist leader does not speak for himself—he speaks for the Party; therefore when Stalin speaks, he speaks for the Party and the working class.

Chamberlain must be applauded for the amount of study he has devoted to the subject and the wealth of varied material he has put into his book. He states that, contrary to assertions by others, he was free to gather information wherever he pleased; that he was favored by all government institutions, etc. He writes: "As a matter of fact, the popular attitude toward the foreigner is probably friendlier in Russia than in any other country in the world." He accounts for it in part by the "almost complete absence of the unpleasant form of nationalism that finds expression in hatred for people of other countries."

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It is unfortunate that Chamberlain concluded his book before the figures of the first year's results of the Five Year Plan were compiled. This would have answered many questions and settled many doubts, but, following the logic of Chamberlain's book, might have resulted in a book different in many respects. When industry—especially heavy industry—is developing so rapidly; when agriculture is not socialized to the extent of 6-7 per cent, but 40 per cent (Spring 1930) and peasants are joining collectives so rapidly in some sections that they can hardly be taken care of properly; and when 1,000,000 acre state farms are being established, and grain for exportation will come chiefly from state and collectivized farms and not the individual peasants, it changes the whole face of basic questions. No longer can one say "half socialist, half capitalist"—*the Soviet Union is a Socialist State, with the Socialist elements predominating and growing very rapidly.* The State Planning Commission "has shown the tendency to *undershoot* rather than to overshoot the mark," says Chamberlain. The possibility of maintaining Socialism does not depend on loans, credits and procurement of machinery from capitalist countries—altho it is very advantageous—but upon the continuance of peace which will allow the Soviet Union to continue her work unhampered.

Chamberlain's book is valuable, but with the kaleidoscopic changes taking place and the tremendous growths reported from week to week, it is impossible to quote figures and statistics as currently authentic. Chamberlain's figures are obsolete and alter the story that he might have told had he waited a few months longer—or perhaps till the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in June.

Despite his shrinking from the methods of Revolution and being unsympathetic to the stern measures of the Proletarian Dictatorship, Chamberlain's book is a friendly, sympathetic story. It contains some errors, such as the alleged eight hours work day for young workers between 16 and 18 (it is six hours); he speaks of the workers, according to the new working week, having one day's rest in six whereas it is one in five; he declares Communists consider the terms Socialism and Communism interchangeable, which is incorrect.

We will conclude with what Chamberlain considers undefeatable achievements of the Revolution: (1) annihilation of large-scale landlordism in agriculture (which is now being supplanted by large-scale state and collective farming—I. A.); (2) substitution of state for private control and operation in industry and transport, banking and trade; (3) cultural autonomy to the non-Russian nationalities; (4) the emergence of a new spirit which Chamberlain calls "plebian democracy."

These achievements are not compatible with capitalism and can only be part of a Proletarian State. Chamberlain says the workers of the Soviet Union are filled with class hatred ("class chauvinism," he calls it.) This is the class hatred that made the Revolution possible; it is the hatred that is liquidating the kulaks and putting an end to religion and the church. It is the spirit that, as Chamberlain says, is giving the "common man (!) a sense of *release of social liberty, that comes with the disappearance of classes* which are visibly above him in wealth and opportunity, culture and social status." It is the consciousness of a proletariat that has destroyed capitalism in one country, that knows its strength and is prepared for the day when the call will come to overthrow capitalism the world over.

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